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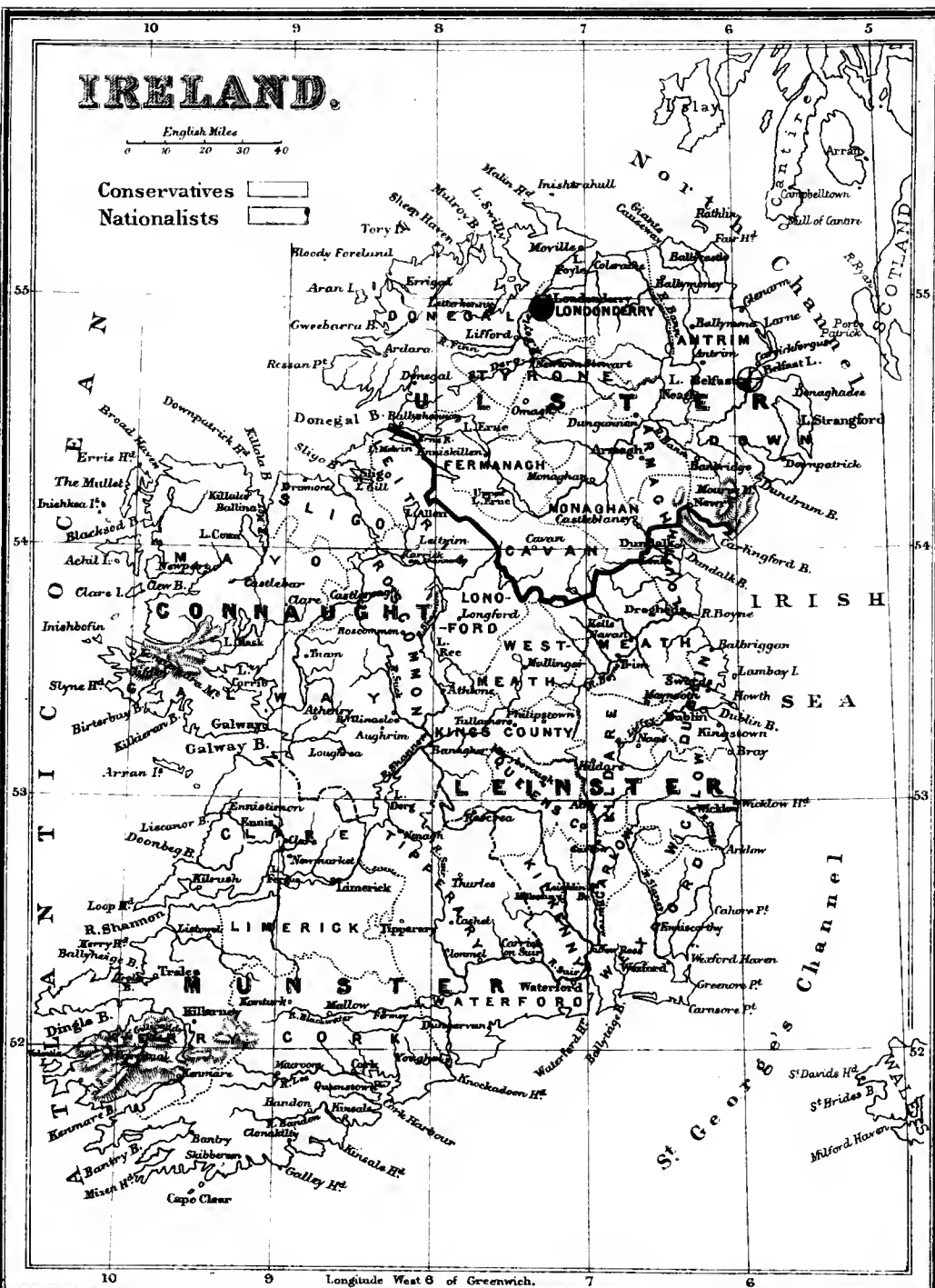
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POLITICAL MAP OF IRELAND.

This Map is intended to give a bird's-eye view of the representation of Ireland. The dark line marks the boundary between Ulster and the rest of Ireland.



Ulster is a province of considerable extent, occupying about one-quarter of the area, and containing about the same proportion of the inhabitants of the whole of Ireland. If all these people were of one mind, their wishes would demand serious attention. But it is not so. Four of the counties of Ulster return Nationalists exclusively; the remaining five return Nationalists and Conservatives. No fewer than 12 out of the 33 Representatives of Ulster are Nationalists; and ALL the Representatives of the rest of Ireland are Nationalists, except the two members representing Dublin University, which has always been a close Tory stronghold.

London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

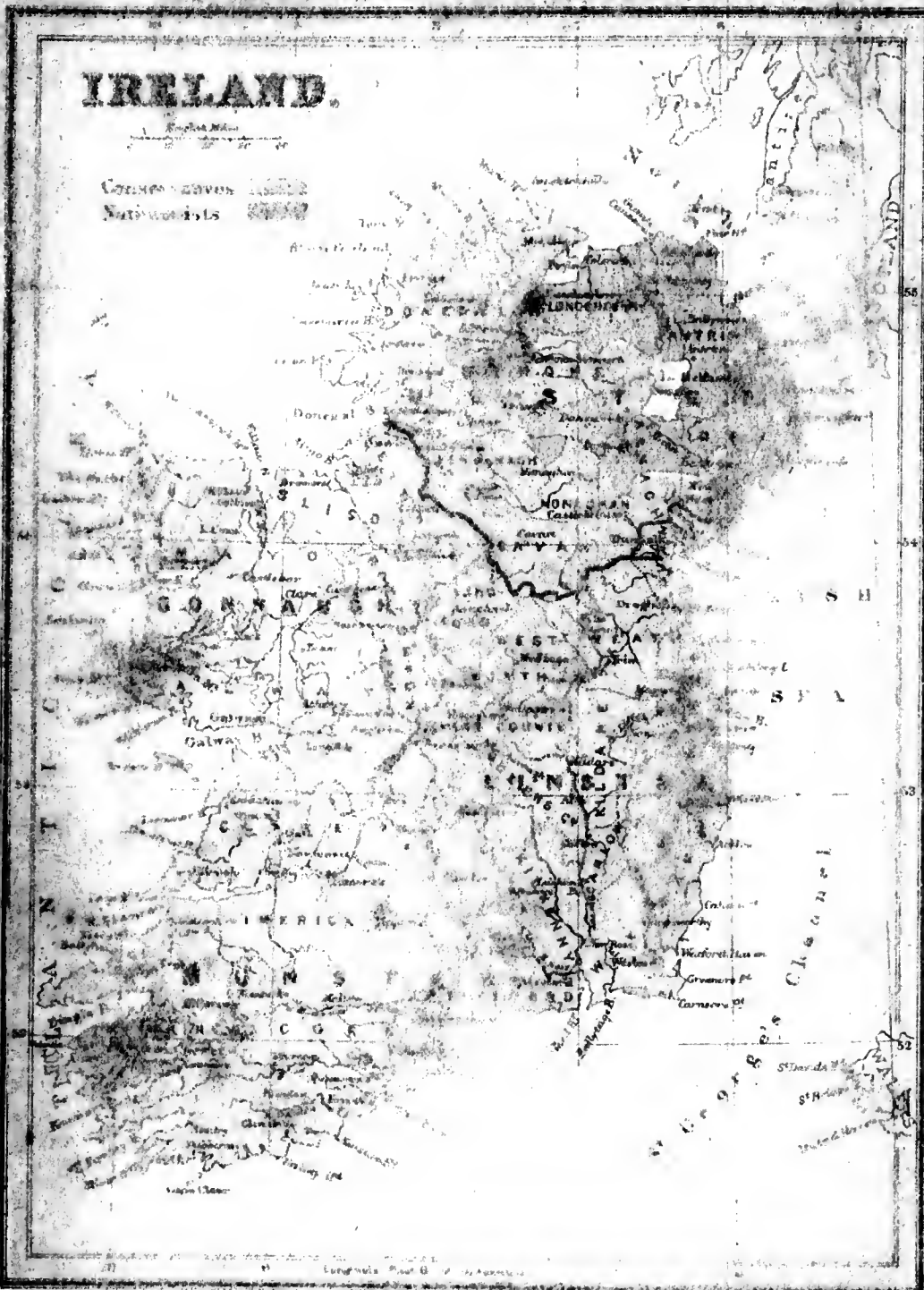
F.S. Weller, F.R.G.S.

POLITICAL MAP OF IRELAND.

This Map is intended to give a bird's-eye view of the representation of Ireland. The dark line marks the boundary between Ulster and the rest of Ireland.

IRELAND.

Constituencies marked with numbers
Nationalists marked with stars



Ulster is a province of considerable extent, occupying about one quarter of the whole of Ireland. It is the only province in which the same property of the members of the House of Commons is not the same. It is not so. Part of the members of the House of Commons are exclusively of Ulster and Nationalists; and all the Representatives of the House of Commons are Nationalists, except the two members representing Dublin University, which has always been a Tory stronghold.

A KEY

TO

THE IRISH QUESTION.

*MAINLY COMPILED FROM THE
SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN
AND PUBLICISTS, PAST AND PRESENT.*

WITH SOME CHAPTERS ON THE REIGN OF EVICTION
IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

BY

J. A. FOX,

AUTHOR OF "WHY IRELAND WANTS HOME RULE,"
"COERCION WITHOUT CRIME," ETC.

LONDON:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO., LTD

1890.

“When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to increase in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered ; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived.”

—JUNIUS.

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INTRODUCTION.

"THE pages of Irish history have been stained with tears and blood," Mr. Bright has observed ; " it is a long agony of which "the only interest lies in its long-deferred close," according to Mr. Goldwin Smith.

As a record of events during seven hundred years, hardly anything could be more dreadful than the history of Ireland. It exhibits little variety except in the nature and intensity of the successive calamities which have afflicted the unfortunate kingdom. How feelingly does not Edmund Spenser even—one of her worst enemies—acknowledge Ireland's unmerited sufferings :—

"I doe much pity that sweet land to be subject to so many "evills as I see more and more to be layed upon her, and doe "half beginne to think that it is her fatall misfortune, above "all other countreyes that I know, to be thus miserably tossed "and turmoyled with these variable stormes of affliction. . . . "[Perhaps] Almighty God reserveth her in this unquiet state "still, for some secret scourge which shall by her come unto "England ; it is hard to be known, but yet more to be feared."

From the arrival of Henry II. to the accession of Elizabeth, it has been truly said the country had not enjoyed seven years of tranquillity at any one period ; while for forty years of that Queen's reign a terrific war had been raging in Ireland. The most tried commanders and the finest armies in Europe were from time to time despatched to the sister isle ; sums of money far exceeding the revenue of England at that period, and estimated to be equal in value to thirty millions sterling of our circulation, were expended in the effort to crush rebellion, finally uproot the

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Catholic religion, and trample the Irishry in the dust. But all in vain. After Elizabeth, Cromwell tried his hand at the work, and, like Elizabeth, depopulated the kingdom once more, by fire and sword and famine and expulsion. Lord Clarendon, the historian, has given it as his opinion that the sufferings of the Irish at the hands of the Puritans had never been surpassed, except by the sufferings of the Jews in the course of their destruction by Titus. There was a little peace, extending over some years, during the reign of Charles II. Yet during this period even, it was said by the Lord-Lieutenant Essex:—

“This country [Ireland] has been continually rent and torn “since his Majesty’s restoration. I can compare it to nothing “better than the flinging the reward, on the death of the deer, “among the pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears “where he can for himself.”

Still was Cromwell’s task also ineffectual.

After the sword, and the famine created by the sword, came the reign of confiscation and proscription, which was in its turn found to be equally inefficacious for purposes of final conquest. When the penal laws against religion and education, and the laws against commerce and manufacturing industry, were relaxed or abolished, then was ushered in the era of eviction, coercion, and the *exodus*. Of this last period, we are still in the midst of its fell experience. Mr. Gladstone has declared that the era of eviction is absolutely more grievous than the one that preceded it, that of the penal laws. Writing in the *Nineteenth Century* of February 1887, he said:—

“We broke up, by the Act of 1815, the old traditions of the “country, transformed the old law in the interests of the land- “lords, and to succeed the centuries of extirpation, of confisca- “tion, and of penalty, we ushered in the century of evictions. “. . . To the mass of the Irish people, it would have been a “less terrible and smaller grievance to re-enact the Penal Laws.”

Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, in a remarkable pamphlet published in 1844, appropriately spoke of those cycles of wretchedness which are the never-failing portion of the Irishman, thus:—

"Like Ixion at his wheel, the Irishman eternally traces the same circle of woes, and meets at every inflection of his jaded round a torture the more ; always repeating his bloody struggle for deliverance, and finding that each but leads to fresh agonies."

Mr. Gladstone has dwelt upon the fact with his customary emphasis. Speaking at Hampstead, on the 11th of May 1887, he is reported to have said :—

"There is no such record of failure in human affairs, go where you will to seek it. There is no such record of failure as in the treatment of Ireland by England for 700 years, during which time I must say there has hardly been 700 days—certainly not 700 weeks—of content and satisfaction. Every horror and every shame that could disgrace the relations between a strong country and a weak one is written upon almost every page of the history of our dealings with Ireland."

To furnish the reader with a useful, and, at the same time, an accurate epitome of this record of 700 years' failure of English statesmanship in Ireland is the purpose of the present work. It may not inaptly be compared to the well-known equestrian figure of William III., standing in College Green, Dublin. It is but a thing of "shreds and patches." But I can conscientiously say that I have spared no pains, no labour, no research, during a residence of some months in that city, to make it reliable and comprehensive at the same time. I wish it had been in my power to relieve the story it conveys of some of its sadness, if only with a few joyous notes by way of contrast. But the individual who succeeds in evolving gladness out of Irish history must be, not a man, but a magician. He must deal not in facts but fictions, and sacrifice truth to poetry. He must not visit the Irish peasant family in their wretched cabin, or view its melancholy surroundings outside,—all of which supply in themselves a compendious story of "every horror and every shame that could disgrace the relations between a strong country and a weak one."

The ineptitude and foolishness of the aggravating measures by which the present Government hope to overcome the Irish, to-

wards whom the sword and the famine and the rack have been put aside as obsolete, might move one to laughter but for their inherent meanness and malignity. No man living who knows anything of Irish history, except he carried a sheep's head on his shoulders, could anticipate success from so stupid a policy. O'Connell used to describe such instruments of torture as Lord Salisbury's eccentric kinsman now in Ireland as "shave beggars;" that is, underlings who hoped to climb into higher office by trying their 'prentice hands in that unhappy country where no responsibility is ever incurred by misgovernment. Already has he reached the goal of his ambition in the Cabinet without displaying a single qualification which might not come under Carlyle's concise definition of the character of the late Count Cagliostro. After a few months he takes his departure; another "shave beggar," perhaps, takes his place; and there is the same interminable round of combined effrontery and mendacity, with a view to render all hope of decent and rational government impossible in Ireland. Meanwhile, perhaps even those Primrose dames and members of the English Church Congress who are now lost in admiration of the methods of government adopted by Mr. Balfour in Ireland, may feel inclined, when they shall have perused the Appendix to this work, to question whether he had not been better employed at home in the Scottish Highlands in some honest endeavour to repair, as far as he is able, the evil work done there by his departed father. It is no mere figure of speech, but an unhappy, well-ascertained fact, that the lovely district of Strathconon, in Ross-shire, depopulated by that individual in 1840-8, and now let out as a deer-forest to a sporting brewer, or other tenant, at a rental of £2,500 a year, by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, is a district bedewed with the tears, if not the blood, of age and innocence,—the infirm parents and helpless children of a deeply wronged and plundered tenantry.

As far as possible, all but British or Protestant authorities have been studiously excluded from my list of quotations; though I trust I need hardly say that I consider an Irish Catholic authority quite as good for historical purposes as a

British Protestant one. But desiring beyond all things that the reader should have no doubt as to their source, the sacrifice has been made of excluding from my repertory even the splendid speeches of O'Connell and Shiel, as well as those of their not unworthy successors, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Davitt. In like manner, and with a like purpose, no quotations will be found in these pages from the admirable writings of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy or the late Mr. Alexander M. Sullivan, M.P. If, therefore, any falsehoods or fallacies should be detected in my work, they shall at least be British or Protestant ones exclusively.

The authorities quoted are so numerous, to avoid interlarding the text with detailed references trying to the eyes of the reader, I have contented myself with giving the number of the volume in which they are to be found (where there is more than one), without the page, chapter, or edition. Every standard work of authority is now-a-days supplied with an index affording facilities for obtaining the additional information required. It may be added that the Parliamentary speeches generally are taken from *Hansard*, and the platform addresses, as a rule, from the columns of the *Times*. I have included some chapters in English and Scottish history in my work, the object of which is, I trust, self-evident. The Scottish Appendix will be found of painful as well as urgent importance, and merits the serious attention of every friend of humanity, regardless of creed, country, or politics. Those English and Scottish readers who may desire a reference to some sound readings in Irish history will find the following dozen works useful for the purpose. The list is merely a practical one for ordinary enquirers, and by no means pretends to be anything like exhaustive of the subject:—

1. Gladstone's "Speeches on the Irish Question in 1886" (Elliot, Edinburgh).
2. Lecky's "History of England" (the Irish chapters of).
3. Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland."
4. Walpole's "Short History of Ireland" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.).

5. Barry O'Brien's "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland" (Sampson Low & Co.).
6. Cornewall Lewis's "Crime and Disturbance in Ireland."
7. Sigerson's "Irish Land Tenures" (Longmans).
8. Godkin's "Land War in Ireland."
9. Bright's "Speeches on Ireland."
10. O'Connor's "Parnell Movement."
11. Macneill's "English Interference with Irish Industries" (Cassell).
12. Urquhart's "Story of Ireland;" 36 pages, price one penny, —the work of an earnest and accomplished Baptist minister.

There are also excellent stores of valuable Irish literature to be had at the following offices:—

The Irish Press Agency, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

The Liberal Central Association, Parliament Street, S.W.

The Home Rule Union, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.

The National Press Agency, Whitefriars Street, E.C.

The National Reform Union, Manchester.

Messrs. Gill & Son, Publishers, Dublin.

I have but one favour to ask of my readers—not for my own sake, but for the sake of the cause we have all at heart—that they will, when quoting from my pages, be so good as to acknowledge the source of their information. Such a course affords the very best means of spreading the "light." A speech or a newspaper article is soon forgotten, whereas a book remains a permanent record of its contents. Those who may in this way be induced to study *A Key to the Irish Question*, side by side with the author's companion volume, *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule*, will readily acknowledge that the term "Justice to Ireland" is very inadequate to represent what is due to that most afflicted of kingdoms. Our watchword ought rather to be "Restitution to Ireland," for the unmerited sorrows and sufferings of the past—our efforts to destroy and consign to oblivion the enmity of seven centuries by a manly, resolute, and unstinted friendship in the future.

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A

KEY TO THE IRISH QUESTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF EVICTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

“A crime of a crying nature, that barreth God of His honour, and the
“king of his subjects.”—LORD KEEPER COVENTRY (1635).

SPEAKING in Dublin, in October 1866, Mr. Bright said:—
“Ireland has been a land of evictions, a word which, I suspect,
“is scarcely known in any other civilised country.” Herein
Mr. Bright was mistaken, since the thing, if not the word, was
familiar enough in England some centuries back, as it has been
in Scotland from 1782, and throughout every decade of the
present century. Modern English landlords are entirely free
from any reproach of the kind, for no body of men better under-
stand the rights and more cheerfully discharge the duties of
property, as has been abundantly proved by the extensive reduc-
tions they have voluntarily made in their rents during the past
dozen years of agricultural depression. But in the time of the
Tudors, and previously, English landlords did the evil work of
eviction in England, as Irish landlords have been doing it in
Ireland during the reign of Victoria. There is, however, an im-
portant difference in the operations of the two periods. Under
the autocratic rule of the Tudors, and later, they were denounced
by the Church, Catholic and Protestant, by the great lawyers,
and by eminent English statesmen. Now, while the Episcopal
Church, Catholic and Protestant, commands us to love God
with all our hearts, and our neighbours as ourselves, churchmen,

by their silence, connive at turning those neighbours out of their cabins, and putting their poor belongings into the street. The modern lawyers dig out old statutes of Edward III. to stifle the voice of the oppressed, and ministers of the Crown employ the forces of the Crown to assist the depopulator in applying the battering-ram to the walls, and the petroleum torch to the roof-tree of the humble dwellings of Her Majesty's poor commons.

In the reign of Stephen, the old Saxon chronicler gives a frightful account of the doings of the feudal barons of the time. According to English historians generally, no more ghastly picture of a nation's misery has ever been painted. To till the ground was to plough the sands of the sea. If two men or three came riding to a town, Mr. Freeman observes, in Volume V. of his *Norman Conquest*, "all the township fled for them, and "weened that they were reavers." And there was no redress; so that men at length openly said that Christ and His saints "had gone to sleep." Some of the proceedings of the denizens of the baronial castles, as they are described by Philips in the first volume of his *History of Progress in Great Britain*, read like the proceedings of their motley descendants in Ireland in the nineteenth century. Take, for example, the artificial famines of such frequent recurrence which they created:—

"If from lands that were unshackled by the law," he observes, "a thrifty husbandman took a piece and proceeded to cultivate it, he thereby invited the notice of some baron greedy of possession, to whom he was compelled by force to yield it up, and be content to occupy it as a fief, upon the best conditions that could be obtained. . . . The struggles which the people made to resist the Norman dominion were so severe, that the whole face of the country for a time appeared a scene of wretchedness. Each estate throughout the kingdom became the centre of a petty and distracting tyranny. Such were the effects of the Conquest, that four great famines occurred within a few years subsequent thereto, which were attributable to these devastations."

Very little is known of that gradual process of emancipation by which English tenants emerged from the class of slaves who first tilled English lands. Before the Conquest the Saxon farmer

was degraded to the position of a feudal dependent on his lord. But the latter was himself, by degrees, pushed from his pedestal by the baron of the Conqueror, and compelled to descend to a lower grade in the system. The ravages of the Black Death in 1348, which carried away one-half the population of England, led to an entire dislocation of agricultural industry. For a short time the number of "landless men" who could find no employment sensibly increased; though by this fearful lessening of the people they became, after a while, masters of the situation. But it was only for a time. Royal ordinances and the remorseless ingenuity of the lawyers speedily helped the landowners to attempt their reduction to a new and worse form of servitude. By the Statute of Labourers (1349-50):—

"Every man or woman, of whatsoever condition, free or "bond, able in body, and within the age of threescore years, ". . . and not having of his own whereof he may live, nor "land of his own about the tillage of which he may occupy "himself, and not serving any other, shall be bound to serve "the employer who shall require him to do so, and shall take "only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the "neighbourhood where he is bound to serve."

The labourer was forbidden to quit the parish where he lived in search of better paid employment. If he disobeyed he became a "fugitive," and subject to imprisonment at the hands of a justice of the peace. But so ineffectual was the attempt to enforce this penalty, owing to the insufficiency of the stipulated wages for a man's support, with corn at a high price, it was further ordered that the runaway should be branded with a hot iron on the forehead. This was not all. Succeeding legislation in the same century, on the part of the landowners, forbade the child of any tiller of the soil to be apprenticed in a town; and the king was prayed "that no bondman or bondwoman shall "place their children at school, as has been done, so as to "advance their children in the world by their going into the "Church." A little learning was evidently held to be a dangerous thing even in those days! But the rude poetry of *Piers Plowman*, and the stirring sermons of John Ball, the Kentish priest,

sounded the knell of this feudal slavery. The "Ploughman" bids the landowner no longer extort gifts from his tenant, and work no injustice on the poor man; reminding him that the latter may be his superior in the life to come. For, "though he be thine underling here, well mayhap in heaven that he be "worthier set and with more bliss than thou." This was the gospel of equality and dignity of labour—a declaration of the rights of man in truth—and it was afterwards preached, with like point and purpose, though with not a little development, by the Kentish priest also, as follows:—

"Good people, John Ball greeteth you all. . . . Things will "never go well in England . . . so long as there be villains "[tenants in serfage] and gentlemen. By what right are they "whom we call lords greater folks than we? On what grounds "have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? "If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and "Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, "if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what "they spend in their pride? . . . When Adam delved and Eve "span, who was then the gentleman?"

Here was resistance to tyranny preached from the housetop, in rebellious speech and writing. And what was the tyranny, or rather the latest form of it? Disastrous French and Spanish wars abroad required heavy subsidies at home. A poll-tax was imposed by Parliament on every person in the kingdom, the poorest to contribute as large a sum as the richest! It was a burden not to be endured. Essex peasants ranged themselves under the leadership of Jack Straw, and their Kentish fellow-sufferers, in multitudes, hearkened to the command of Wat Tyler. The whole of the Eastern Counties were in arms, and the rising extended to Surrey and Sussex, Hampshire and Somerset. And yet the claim of those rebels was no more, in the language of one of our most popular historians, than that they should be ruled in accordance with the dictates of "plain and simple "justice."¹ They knew how to distinguish their enemies. Every lawyer who fell into the hands of the Kentish men

¹ Green.

on their line of march was put to death ; and a like vengeance befell the principal officials engaged in the levy of the iniquitous poll-tax. But the latter was but a drop in the English peasants' cup of bitterness, as will be seen from the subject of their interview with the boy-king, Richard II. He bravely confronted the infuriated rebels, on their reaching the outskirts of London, contrary to the advice of some of his ministers ; one of whom, Archbishop Sudbury, was, on account of this attempt to prevent a royal conference with the people, dragged from his sanctuary, and beheaded on Tower Hill. "What will ye?" demanded Richard of the armed multitude. "We will that you free us "for ever," they shouted, "us and our lands ; and that we be "never named nor held for serfs." The king replied, "I grant "it," and bidding them to return home peacefully, pledged himself to issue the necessary charters of freedom and amnesty at once.

But the methods of tyranny are multiform, and the tyrant finds it hard to relax his grasp. The main body of the simple, credulous peasants dispersed quietly, as they were bid, to their distant homes ; the panic ceased amongst the nobles, who took courage from the death of Tyler ; and the Parliament of landowners refused to ratify the promise of the king. They were, in fact, as obstinately bent on "doing what they liked with their own," as their rack-renting fellows five centuries later in Ireland. It was null and void, they said ; their serfs were their goods, and even the king could not take their goods from them, but by their own consent. "And this consent," they declared, "we have never "given and never will give, were we all to die in one day." Once more they contrived to get their heels on the neck of their serfs ; yet it was only by threats of death that verdicts of guilty could be wrung from Essex jurors, when the leaders of the revolt were dragged before them. The bold course taken by Tyler killed serfdom in the long run. Jack Cade's list of grievances, seventy years afterwards, were such as might have suited the banners of our nineteenth century political reformers. There was no mention of serfdom amongst them ; so that Wat Tyler is one of those historical characters whose services to humanity have been underrated, while the man that assassinated him is com.

monly held up to our admiration by the historian as the typical friend of the king, and the enemy of lawlessness and disorder.

During the protracted Wars of the Roses, in the next century, the lords of the soil condescended a little to spare the lives of their dependents, and even encouraged them to increase and multiply in observance of the Divine command. The object was purely a selfish one, having a dynastic purpose, inasmuch as it enhanced their own importance to have as many followers as possible in the field of battle. But the iron must have continued to penetrate to the soul of the poor peasant notwithstanding, for there were repeated risings in various parts of the kingdom meanwhile. That they did not take place without sufficient reason may be inferred from the fact that Chief Justice Fortescue, one of the greatest men of his time, is found excusing them on the ground that "nothing may make the people rise but lacke of goods or lacke of justice." The motive for tolerating an increase in the numbers of the English people ceased to operate, however, after the bloody settlement at Bosworth, on the accession of Henry VII. Depopulation thenceforward proceeded apace. Yet the king himself was opposed to it, and during his reign there was a Statute of Tillage enacted, limiting pasture land, and requiring the holder of two farms—none were allowed to hold more—under penalty, to reside in the parishes in which their farms were. It is very interesting and instructive :—

"That greedy and covetous people gather together into few hands as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, whereby they enhanced the old rates of the rent, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it, and have so enhanced the prices of all corn and cattle, almost double above the prices which have been accustomed. By reason whereof a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this realm be not able to provide meat, drink, and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives, and their children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty that they fall daily to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold, which things be principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to

“the diminishing the king’s people, and may turn to the utter
“destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend.”

On an appeal by the tenants, Henry ordered them to be restored to their dwellings, telling the landlord he was entrusted with his estate for the purpose of keeping men on the land. In those days, and down to the Restoration, all landed property was held in tenancy from the king, who was owner of the soil as the representative of the nation. Even in the reign of his successor, the eighth Henry, laws were enacted prohibiting the enclosure of commons and consolidation of farms. In fact our bluff King Hal required the landlords to rebuild all farm houses which had been destroyed by them since the fourth year of the reign of Henry VII. No bad example of the wisdom of our ancestors! Complaints of the hardships caused to the rural population by the process of “*emparkment*” were also numerous and urgent. In 1514 a petition was presented to Henry VIII. to beg him to remedy the state of things brought about by the action of the great landowners in throwing many small farms into one large one, and by the consequent neglect of tillage. The petition states that many gentlemen, merchant adventurers, clothmakers, and others have occupied ten, twelve, and even sixteen farms. By reason of this it says whole villages of twenty and thirty houses have been cleared of their inhabitants, and a solitary shepherd was employed on land which had hitherto provided occupation for sixty or eighty persons.¹ That there must have been a good many such monopolists at one period we have proof. John Bayker, a poor artificer or craftsman, a native of Wiltshire, addressed a petition to Henry, in the course of which he said :—

“Your grace may see how hard hearted they [the ‘*fee farmers*
“or rulers’] are unto their tenants that they rather let houses fall
“than build. Is it not a pitiful thing to come into a little
“village town where there have been twenty or thirty houses,
“and now one-half of them nothing but bare walls standing?

¹ State Papers quoted by Gasquet in his *Henry VIII.* (Hodges), a new and valuable addition to our historical literature.

“Is it not a pitiful thing to see one man have in his hand what sufficed for two or three men when the habitations were standing? No doubt this thing is the cause of much inconvenience within your realm.”

But the steady rise in the price of wool in this reign gave a fresh impulse to the movement for consolidating smaller holdings, and introducing sheep-farming on an enormous scale. The mercantile classes, too, now rising to prosperity for the first time, began to invest largely in land. And these “farming gentlemen and clerking knights,” as Bishop Latimer scornfully styled them, like the new Lancastrian owners of the confiscated estates in the previous reign, having neither old traditions nor friendly associations to restrain them, proceeded to a wholesale eviction of the unfortunate tenants. They were to some extent in the position of the *novi homines* who, in purchasing Irish encumbered estates after 1848, were liberally provided by Parliament with the privilege of confiscating the fruits of the Irish peasants’ industry at the same time. Those whom they spared this process of extermination in England were yet scourged with scorpions by an extortionate multiplication of their rents. Latimer himself gives an interesting account of the sufferings of the yeomen of the time in consequence, by contrasting the comforts provided by a small farm, held at a moderate rent, in his own family, with the comparative poverty of the yeoman who succeeded his father on the same farm when it was held at a rack rent. The passage is to be found amongst the bishop’s discourses preached before Edward VI., and is as follows:—

“My father,” observes the sturdy Bishop of Lincoln, “was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine; he was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse while he came to the place that he should receive the king’s wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king’s majesty now; he married my sisters with five pounds, or

“twenty nobles, apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor, and all this he did of the same farm; where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.”¹

The farmers, according to Sir Thomas More, were got rid of by fraud or force, or tired out by repeated wrongs into parting with their holdings. The entire system of society was, he says, “nothing but a conspiracy of the rich against the poor, and the wrong was yet made greater by means of the law.” The oppressed English peasants made short work of the lawyers as well as the law in the reign of the second Richard, for surely, as Mr. Goldwin Smith justly observed while he was yet capable of writing in a judicial frame of mind about Ireland, “a people cannot be expected to love and reverence oppression because it is consigned to a statute-book and called law.” But the league of greedy landlords and impish lawyers was again omnipotent in More’s time. The result was the miserable doom of the unemployed labouring class, whose existence was “so wretched that even a beast’s life seems enviable,” he said. There is a pathetic passage from the pen of the same illustrious author, descriptive of the agonies endured by the evicted in the reign of the Tudors, which will be found in *Utopia*. It was once likened by Lord John Russell, after reading it in the House of Commons, on the 25th of January 1847, to the description of modern eviction scenes in Ireland in the reign of Victoria:—

“Therefore is it,” observes More, “that one covetous and insatiable cormorant, and very plague of his native country,

¹ The English yeoman is as extinct as the dodo. In 1660, when the population was about 5,000,000, one-seventh were reckoned yeomen. Their farms have been consolidated into large estates, the agricultural labourers having taken their place, who are themselves now in process of extinction. Between 1857 and 1877, the labourers’ numbers were reduced from 2,084,150 to 1,447,500, or 30 per cent. in twenty years. There are fearful wrongs underlying these facts.

“may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground
 “within one pale or hedge; the husbandmen be thrust out of
 “their own, or else either by covin and fraud, or violent oppres-
 “sions, they be put beside it; or by wrongs and injuries they
 “be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all. By one
 “means, therefore, or by the other, either by hook or by crook,
 “they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls!
 “men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows,
 “woeful mothers with their young babes, and the whole house-
 “hold, small in substance, and much in numbers, as husbandry
 “requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their
 “known and accustomed homes, finding no place to rest in; all
 “their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it
 “might well abide the sale; yet being suddenly thrust out,
 “they be constrained to sell it as a thing of nought. And,
 “when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can
 “they then do but to steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or
 “else go about a-begging? And yet then also they be cast into
 “prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not;
 “whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly
 “prefer themselves thereto.”

To explain more fully what More means, as to the direct consequence of an English eviction in those days, it should be mentioned that in 1535, by the 27th of Henry VIII., c. 25, the “sturdy beggar,” a troublesome development of the “vagabond,” both claiming lineal descent from the “landless man,” was to be whipped when first caught, next to have his ear cropped, and for a third offence, to suffer death as a felon and an enemy to the commonwealth. The “poor silly souls,” as More calls the evicted peasants, had not then quite a good time of it in Merry England. They were “free-born Englishmen”—free to starve or be hanged. But whether they relieved their sorrows by singing “Rule Britannia,” as in these days, the historian omits to say. Henry VIII. later in life objected to have his multiplied matrimonial joys disturbed by the insurgent wailings of the “vagabonds,” as it was henceforward the courtly fashion to stigmatise the evicted. Coverdale speaks of the multitude who went about, begging at this time, in his translation of the Bible (1535). Henry summarily hanged 72,000 of them; twenty being

often seen dangling together from the same gallows. Indeed it is difficult to see what else he could have done under the circumstances. Conjointly with the lords of the soil, he had, by confiscating the religious houses, despoiled the unfortunate of their last refuge for shelter and a crust—their only patrimony, so to speak. Whoso profited by the spoliation, a great English historian shall inform us :—

“Those families within or without the bounds of the peerage,” observes Hallam, “who are now deemed the most considerable, will be found, with no great number of exceptions, to have first become conspicuous under the Tudor line of kings, and if we could trace the title of their estates, to have acquired no small portion of them mediately or immediately from monastic or other ecclesiastical foundations.”

And how did the survivors view the proceeding? Did they dare to withstand the tyrant and disturb the peace of the realm? Most undoubtedly they did so dare. Agrarian discontent, crystallised over by a regard for the “old religion,” now threatened, roused the whole of the northern counties into open rebellion, which was only quelled by deceitful negotiation on the part of the king.¹ Henry sowed the wind, and left it to his son and successor, Edward VI., to reap the harvest. Edward was unfortunately persuaded to lay hands on such religious establishments as survived Henry’s reign. But, observes Strype, in the second volume of his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*—“though the public good was pretended thereby . . . yet private men, in truth, had most of the benefit, and the king and commonwealth, the state of learning, and condition of the poor, left as they were before, or worse.” There was, therefore, but a harvest of further risings and insurrections, accompanied by terrible outrages in the way of reprisal on the part of the peasants (this time in the east and west of England), which cost the Government, in round numbers, some £30,000 in the counties of

¹ The two reasons which actuated the Devonshire insurgents in 1549 were, “the oppression of the gentry in enclosing their commons,” and “the laying aside the old religion, which because it was old and the way their forefathers worshipped God, they were very fond of.”

Norfolk, Devon, and Cornwall alone; an enormous sum at that period, being equal to about fifteen times its present value, not to speak of the frightful slaughter of the outraged people. Afterwards the king and his council issued a proclamation, also quoted by Strype, which is worthy of note, inasmuch as it is therein expressly stated that the kingdom is brought:—

“Into marvellous desolation, houses decayed, parishes diminished, the force of the realm weakened; and Christian people, by the greedy covetousness of some men, eaten and devoured by brute beasts, and driven from their houses by sheep and bullocks.”

One might imagine that he was reading, in this pitiful story of England in the sixteenth century, of the achievements of the crowbar-brigade in Ireland and Scotland in the nineteenth. There is nothing new under the sun, and it is rather singular that enterprising writers on the Irish question have not heretofore made the discovery in regard to the modern clearance system in Ireland. “We are commanded,” observes a contemporary author quoted by Strype, in bitter sarcasm directed against the professors of the gospel, who revelled in those far-off days, as now, in “joining house to house and field to field”—in defiance of the warning contained in Isaiah (v. 8)—“We are commanded to love God above all things, and our neighbours as ourselves, while we put them out of their houses, and lay their goods in the street.” To her credit be it told, Mary Tudor issued a Commission to grapple with and restrain the landlords. Its powers were almost unlimited, even to the extent of a compulsory reduction of their rents (2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, c. 1). Indeed, it might have furnished hints for Mr. Gladstone’s less drastic legislation of 1870. In Ireland, at the same time, she proved that community of religion did not quite signify community of justice, for this princess anticipated the iniquitous proceedings of her royal and republican successors in Munster and Ulster, by confiscating the country and exterminating the sept of the O’Connors, in favour of English settlers, in the province of Leinster.

But these Royal Commissions were as barren of any result,

in the long run, as those which have reported on the agrarian discontents and disturbances in Ireland throughout the present century. Strype tells how the gentry, great and small, concerned in the clearances and enclosures were highly offended with Mary's brother, Edward VI., and his Council, for authorising the Commission of Inquiry in 1549, after the rebellion. It put them on their trial, so to speak, as well as their wretched victims. They took particular exception to the proceedings of John Hales, one of the Commissioners, for his blunt honesty in seeking a practical remedy for the disorders; they intimidated the witnesses for the oppressed commons by threats of ejectionment; and, finally, packed the juries with their own immediate retainers to the exclusion of independent men. Apparently for the sake of peace, and probably under pressure, Hales sued the king for a general pardon all round. But, while the poor insurgents readily submitted, some of the landlords, on being pardoned, at once returned to their old practices, and, according to Strype, "became more greedy [of enclosures] than ever they were before." Of Elizabeth it is also to be said that at one period at least she, too, apparently endeavoured to curb the excesses of the landlords by various legislative enactments. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1601, in respect to a certain statute regarding tillage, then under discussion, her trusted counsellor, Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury)—one of the great ancestors of our present Prime Minister—is reported in D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 674, to have observed as follows:—

"I do not dwell in the country, I am not acquainted with the plough; but I think that whosoever doth not maintain the plough destroys this kingdom. . . . If we debar tillage, we give scope to the depopulator."

But the lords of the soil were too powerful even for Elizabeth, despotic though she was. After a while her affairs abroad and in Ireland so much engrossed her attention she could no longer suffer herself to be pestered with the cries of the wretched at home. She dutifully followed in the footsteps of her father and brother in dealing with the nuisance. In

Edward's reign the Protector did what he could, perhaps, to stay the arm of the depopulator. But failing in this the Council authorised the punishment of branding with a hot iron "vagabonds" whose alternative lay between vagrancy and death. The barbarous cruelty is thus pithily described by Lingard, in Volume V. of his *History of England* :—

"Two justices of the peace might order the letter V to be "burned on his breast, and adjudge him to serve the informer "two years as his slave. His master . . . might fix an iron "ring round his neck, arm, or leg; and was authorised to "compel him to labour at any work, however vile it might "be, by beating, chaining, or otherwise. If the slave absented "himself a fortnight the letter S was burned on his cheek or "forehead, and he became a slave for life; and if he offended "a second time in like manner, his flight subjected him to the "penalties of felony."

Fifty years afterwards the "sturdy beggars" and "vagabonds" created by depopulation were, by express orders of Elizabeth, mercifully executed by martial law. In the fourth volume of his great work on *Agriculture and Prices*, Professor Thorold Rogers says the mass of the people were losers by the Reformation, owing to the "wantonness" of Henry VIII. in despoiling the religious houses, and the rapacity of the "aristocratic camarilla" which he planted round the throne of his infant son in claiming a share in the plunder. Neither Mary nor Elizabeth could afford to quarrel with the spoilers, though the latter were, according to Mr. Froude, looked upon by Englishmen of the time "as poisonous mushrooms" of unwholesome origin. The gradual degradation of the English peasant commenced at the epoch of Henry's death, and there is now, at length, after many vicissitudes, no place on this English earth for the agricultural poor to find a footing. They have really no reason to be born into the world at all in the Merry England of our time. And thus, after a continuous struggle extending over many centuries, has been compassed the violation and cancelling of Heaven's great charter—"The earth hath He given to the children of men."

CHAPTER II.

WHAT CHURCHMEN AND JURISTS THOUGHT OF IT.

“As for turning poor men out of their holds they take it for no offence, but say the land is their own, and so they turn them out of their shrouds like mice.”—BERNARD GILPIN (1553).

THOSE persecuted Englishmen had the courage on one occasion, in 1546, not only to petition, but, according to Strype, to threaten with everlasting punishment the king, Henry VIII., in regard to further neglect of their complaints. After urging that he should leave to his successor “a common weal to govern, and not an island of brute beasts,” they go on to declare:—

“If you suffer Christ’s poor members to be thus oppressed [by the landowners], look for none other than the rightful judgment of God, . . . for of all of them that, through your negligence, shall perish, shall be required at your hands.”

And here it may be convenient to say that English kings did at various times hearken to the cry of misery which went up to the throne from their people; eminent Churchmen, Catholic and Protestant, denounced the tyranny exercised by the landowners; and even Parliaments, though it might be unwillingly, enacted stringent measures, from time to time, to shield the peasants against them, from the reign of Henry II. downwards. Nor were the great jurists silent either, though their decisions here quoted are only heard of at a later period than this now under review. For instance, Sir Edward Coke appeared to regard eviction as the unforgiven sin. He said that the 37th Henry VI., 46 (Plow. Com. in Nicol’s case, 12 Rep. 30), in reference to the destruction of highways and bridges, “applies, and *a multo fortiori*, in the case of depopulation; for this is not only an offence against the king, but

“against all the realm. . . . The offence itself cannot be pardoned as in the case of a bridge and highway, *quia malum in se.*” And again, in Poulter’s case, 11 Rep. 29, *b*, he said :—

“It appeareth by the Statute, 4th Henry IV., c. 2, that “*depopulatores agrorum* were great offenders by the ancient law. They were called *depopulatores agrorum*, for that, by “prostrating or decaying of the houses of habitation of the “King’s people, they depopulate, that is, dispeople, the touns.”

The same eminent authority also tells us that “the common law gives arable land the precedence and pre-eminency “over meadows, pastures, ruins, and all other grounds whatsoever ;” and that *averia carucæ*, beasts of plough, have, in some instances, more privileges than other cattle have (4 Rep. 39). It may be added that, by positive statute, they were liable to distress only when all other chattels failed (51 Henry III., *de Distractione Scaccarii*, and 28 Ed. I., c. 12). In like manner, Sir Matthew Hale, another distinguished judge and lawyer, declared that diminishing the subjects of the Crown was a capital felony, as being contrary to the general policy of the country. It appears in 2nd Henry V. that a dyer was bound that he should not use the dyer’s craft for two years ; and Hale held in a case of the kind that :—

“The bond was against the common law,” and swore “by “God, if the plaintiff was here, he should go to prison until he “paid a fine to the king ; and so,” he added, “for the same “reason, if an husbandman is bound that he shall not sow his “land, the bond is against the common law” (Ipswich Tailor’s case, 2 Rep. 53).

The *Law Dictionaries* of J. Cunningham (1764) and Sir Thomas Tomlin (1835) cast an interesting light on this decision, by laying it down that “so careful is our law to preserve “tillage, that a bond or condition to restrain it, or sowing of “lands, &c., is void” (11 Rep. 53). At common law, we know, no man could be prohibited from working in any lawful trade, “for the law abhors idleness, the mother of all evils.” Again, the Lord Keeper, Coventry, when the judges were going circuit in 1635 (*State Trials*, vol. iii.), impressed upon them in

a special manner the duty of bringing the offence of depopulation under the notice of the grand jurors, and seeing that the penalties provided by law were strictly enforced : depopulation being, he said, "a crime of a crying nature, that barreth God of His honour and the king of his subjects." And furthermore it deserves to be mentioned that in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VII., an Act of Parliament, which Lord Bacon describes, in his *Reign* of that monarch, as being profound "and admirable," was passed against the wilful laying waste of houses by converting plough lands into pasture. And that act never having been repealed was, it is said, capable of enforcement to restrain the landlords in their rage for eviction at any time in the present century in Ireland if Governments sincerely regarded the lives or happiness of the Queen's subjects in that country.

Nor did eminent churchmen, Catholic and Protestant, fail to denounce the wrongdoers, in language that is startling to read even now. To begin with, John Rous, the celebrated monk and antiquary of Warwick, presented a petition to Parliament, in 1450, against the system of depopulation then prevalent, which will be found in his *History of the Kings of England*. Within twelve miles of the town of Warwick, he says, no less than sixty-five other towns and hamlets are reduced to ruin, and he invokes the vengeance of Heaven on the evictors of his day, whom he likens to basilisks—"whose devouring eyes consume all they fall upon;" and who are "more culpable than thieves, whom the law condemns to be hanged. . . . You oppressors of the poor," he exclaims, "God and all the host of Heaven detest your infamous society, and the devil only, with his satellites, can with pleasure admit you into his company." And he quotes passages from the canon law to show that only to two classes of malefactors did the Church deny the right of sanctuary and benefit of clergy, viz., public robbers and devastators of lands and highways—"Scilicet latronem publicum cum et devastatorem agrorum et viarum."

Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Lincoln, was not behind his Catholic predecessor in denouncing the Clearance System, and politely consigning the "Crowbar-brigade" to the bottomless pit in like

manner, as may be seen in the second volume of Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* :—

"You landlords," he observes, "you rent raisers, I may say "you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. Well, well, this one thing I will say "unto you—from whence it cometh, I know, even from the "devil." As for those surveyors, or overseers, who mapped out the lands for consolidation, "the greedy pit of the hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for "them; a redress God grant." And the Bishop solemnly expresses a hope, which, he says, comforts him, that the dreadful day of judgment is at hand, "which shall make an end of "all these calamities and miseries." Further, by way of setting the episcopal seal on the fate of the impenitent depopulators, he omits not to quote from Matthew xxv., "Depart from me, ye "cursed," &c.

Another distinguished Protestant divine, Bernard Gilpin, in the course of a sermon preached before Edward VI., in 1553, which will also be found in the same work, bitterly complains of and anathematises the evictors thus :—

"As for turning poor men out of their holds they take it for "no offence, but say the land is their own, and so they turn "them out of their shrouds like mice. . . . O Lord! what a "number of such oppressors worse than Ahab are in England, "which sell the poor for a pair of shoes (Amos ii. 5, 6). Of "whom, if God should serve but three or four as He did Ahab, "to make the dogs lap the blood of them, their wives, and posterity, I think it would cause a great number to beware of "extortion, and yet, escaping temporal punishments, they are "sure, by God's Word, their blood is reserved for hell-hounds."

Finally, Robert Crowley, a young Oxford divine, who received his orders at the hands of Bishop Ridley, in "An Information "and Petition against the Oppressors of the Poor Commons of "this Realm," observes, according to Strype, that :—

"If there were no God, then would I think it lawful for men "to use their possessions as they lyste. . . . But, forasmuch as "we have God, and he hath declared unto us by the Scriptures "that he hath made the possessioners but stewards of his riches,

"and that he will hold streight accompt with them for the
 "occupying and bestowing of them, I think that no Christian
 "ears can abide to hear that more than Turkish opinion. . . .
 "Behold, you engrossers of fermes and tenements, the terrible
 "threatenings of God, whose wrath you cannot escape. The
 "voice of the poor (whom you have, with money, thrust out of
 "house and home) is well accepted in the ear of the Lord,
 "and hath stirred up his wrath against you. . . . And doubt
 "not, ye lease-mongers, that take groundes by lease to the
 "extente, to let them again for double and tripple the rente,
 "your part is in this plague. For when you have multiplied
 "your rentes to the highest, so that ye have made all your
 "tenants poor slaves, to labour and toyle, and bring to you all
 "that may be plowen and digged out of your groundes, then
 "shall death suddenly strike you; then shall your conscience
 "pricke you; then shall you think, with desperate Cain, that
 "your sin is greater than that it may be forgiven. For your
 "own conscience shall judge you worthy no mercy, because you
 "have showed no mercy. The same measure that you have
 "made to others shall now be made to you. You have showed
 "no mercy, how then can you look for mercy? . . . God hath
 "not sette you to survey his landes, but to play the stuardes in
 "his household of this world, and to see that your poor fellow-
 "servants lack not their necessities. . . . And if any of them
 "perish thorowe your default, knowe, then, for certainte, that
 "the blood of them shall be required at your hands. If the
 "impotent creatures perish for lack of necessities, you are their
 "murderers, for you have their inheritance, and do not minister
 "unto them."

In the foregoing pages the reader has before him a few
 specimens of the burning eloquence with which eminent Catholic
 and Protestant Englishmen pleaded, in the pulpit and out of
 the pulpit, for mercy on the descendants of the conquerors at
 Cressy, Poitiers, and Azincourt. It is true they pleaded in
 vain; yet their honour is none the less deserved. Contrast
 their Christian conduct with that of the unfeeling silence of the
 bishops of the Churches, Catholic and Protestant, who occupy
 the English Episcopal bench of the nineteenth century, when
 they read in their morning papers how the descendants of the
 Irishmen who helped to conquer at the Nile, Trafalgar, in

India, and at Waterloo are deliberately placed at the mercy of land-sharks and land-grabbers for extermination in their native country, A.D. 1889. Oh! ye English men and women, who in your hearts revere the memory of honest Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Lincoln, contrast his noble, fearless language in the cause of humanity, three centuries ago, with that of the Archbishop of York of to-day, who only a few months since bespoke an enthusiastic welcome at the English Church Congress for the cruel man specially selected by Lord Hartington and the Prime Minister to superintend the inhuman and murderous work of evicting women and children at this hour in Ireland!

Even if it were necessary, it would yet be impracticable, in a publication of this kind, to pursue the English agrarian troubles further. They had a fitful existence during the period covered by the Stuart dynasty, as may be inferred from the judicial decisions of the great lawyers. The poor-law system, on its present basis, was first established, in 1601, by the 43rd Elizabeth, c. 2; and the Law of Settlement, in the reign of Charles II., finally put an end to them, by compelling the evicting landowners to support the evicted in England. The exciting cause was thus removed, and thenceforward the "landless man" of English history practically disappears from view, except when some smart London caricaturist finds fun in contemptuously representing him in the conventional guise of *Hodge*, with a moon-struck face, from which every lineament betraying human intelligence has almost vanished. In Ireland, however, to which kingdom the Law of Settlement was not extended, the agrarian struggle continues in all its intensity. The Irish are, in fact, fighting the battle of the poor and the dispossessed of the three kingdoms. And if you imagine that the reign of cruel wrong in regard to the land altogether ceased in England at the Restoration, you are most profoundly mistaken. During the first thirty-seven years of the reign of George III. there were no less than 1,532 Enclosure Acts passed by Parliament, affecting in all 2,804,197 acres of English land, which were by these means taken from the many for the benefit of the few. Nor was it

the last of the series. In a small work published in 1885, under the distinguished patronage of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, entitled the *Radical Programme*, there are some further very painful facts on the subject, which he commends, in a Preface, "to the careful and impartial judgment of my fellow-Radicals," just on the eve of his sudden desertion of the latter, in favour of the dukes and other "gentlemen of England." It may be desirable to premise that a "Common" signifies a common right of property existing in several individuals (frequently the inhabitants of a whole village) in a piece of ground, which Mill has called the "Peasant's Park," and Blackstone has defined as "a profit which a man hath in the land of another, as to feed his beasts, to catch fish, to dig turf, to cut wood, or the like."

Here are the further facts commended by Mr. Chamberlain to his fellow-Radicals, which well deserve all the attention that can be bestowed upon them:—

"These Enclosure Acts, framed and carried by Parliaments composed mainly of landlords, have deprived the labourers of the means of bettering themselves, which as a class they formerly possessed. The occupation of land, rights of keeping cows and feeding pigs and poultry, and of cutting turf and fuel on commons and wastes, with other advantages, have been almost completely put an end to. The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1867, states that 'up to 1843 seven millions of acres were enclosed in England and Wales with, in the opinion of persons of great authority, very inadequate precautions to secure the rights of the smaller commoners.' During a debate in the House of Lords in 1845 the Earl of Lincoln said, 'This I know, that in nineteen cases out of twenty, committees of this House, sitting on Enclosure Bills, have neglected the rights of the poor;' and in the House of Commons it was stated that these Bills had been introduced and passed without discussion, and that it was impossible to say how many persons had lost their rights and interests by their action. 'It is true,' said the speaker, 'that these Bills had been referred to committees upstairs, but every one knew how these committees were generally conducted; they were attended only by honourable members

“who were interested in them, being lords of manors, and the rights of the poor, though they might be talked about, had frequently been taken away by that system.’ In numberless cases ancient rights belonged to the cottages and tenements, and were always enjoyed by the tenant, but when enclosures took place the land awarded as compensation was given to the landlords, who disposed of it as they thought fit, and the occupiers, whose claims were ignored, were from thenceforth deprived of those rights and privileges for ever.

“The General Enclosure Act of 1845 professed to make ample provision, by means of gardens and public allotments, for the labouring poor. A study of the Act shows, however, that the real power in the matter was virtually placed in the hands of the territorial class, and that the limited and complicated provisions affecting the poor, and the apparent protection afforded by the Enclosure Commissioners are, for the most part, illusory. The result has been the continuation as a rule, as far as the poor are concerned, of the process carried on by previous Enclosure Acts. Out of nearly 450,000 acres enclosed in the twenty-two years, from the passing of the Act to the year 1867, we have the authority of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1867) for stating that only 2119 acres were assigned to the labouring poor, and no doubt subsequent enclosures show a similar result. The general outcome, therefore, of all legislation with regard to enclosures has been to take away from the peasantry, as a class, the rights and advantages which formerly belonged to them; to deprive them of the possession and interest in the land, and to reduce them from a status of more or less independence to that of mere hirelings.”

Such are the facts and deductions set forth in the *Radical Programme* in 1885, Mr. Chamberlain's Preface being dated the month of July in that year—that is, about four years ago. But it did not always require the formality of an Enclosure Act to enclose. Thousands of acres were filched from the people without as much as saying “by your leave,” by means of improvised palings and other fences, giving point to the old lines which describe it as a crime to steal the goose from the common, but perfectly *en règle* to steal the common from the goose. Mr. Chamberlain's *Radical Programme* imperatively demanded “there should not be a moment's hesitation”

in seeking restitution, otherwise "the fear is that reforms in this direction may come too late, and that the race of husbandmen—the hardy peasant class who constitute such a staying element, the 'backbone' of the nation—will have deteriorated or largely disappeared." It must be acknowledged that when Mr. Chamberlain was content to be "a common fellow" his sympathies appeared to go out to the English peasant. He encouraged Mr. Jesse Collings to attempt some kind of retrospective legislation, and Mr. Collings, too, seemed in earnest. But alas! poor "Hodge," as he is so often contemptuously designated in these unbrotherly times, has been cruelly hoaxed by the Birmingham *Radical Programme*; for, as a specimen of retributive legislation, the ridiculously insufficient Allotments' Scheme of Mr. Collings, which has since been converted into an Act of Parliament, could only have been conceived in the interests of the "gentlemen of England." The wronged peasant is no longer sure even of the three acres—an infinitesimal scrap of his ancient inheritance—in the Promised Land, and the Birmingham magic cow has been relegated to the region of other great expectations alleged to be incapable of fulfilment. The peasant is still driven to take refuge in the towns, there to stagnate in idleness and perennial poverty, with the workhouse for a heritage in his old age. There is a passage in an old English work entitled *The Gentleman* [of England's] *Calling* (1659), which is doubtless familiar to Mr. Chamberlain in his new rôle, that exemplifies in a striking manner his modified notions as to what should be the extent of agrarian restitution in 1889, to avert the doom of the "backbone of the nation":—

"Those that have drunk the blood of the poor, and suffered the most of it to incorporate into their estates, think by disgorging some small part of it in a legacy to ease their consciences; so adapting their restitutions to their rapines, they never commence till death has disseised them of all property."

The English agricultural labourer has been rendered stupid by oppression. But his children are now learning something of the origin of their poverty in the Board Schools of our great cities, which will by and by urge them to demand a very different

kind of restitution from the Parliament which connived at their ruin. It is not the English peasant only who has been, even in these latter times, wrongfully deprived of his inheritance. The Highlander of Scotland has been mercilessly directed to proceed to "hell or Canada," to make room for sheep or deer, just as his Celtic brother in Ireland was formerly compelled to turn his thoughts to "hell or Connaught." There is really nothing new under the sun. The Sutherlandshire clearances have been described by Hugh Miller, whose fame is so well known in England, as "a process of ruin so thoroughly disastrous, that it might be deemed scarcely possible to render it more complete. . . . Between 1811 and 1820 fifteen thousand inhabitants of this northern district were ejected from their snug inland farms by means for which we would in vain seek a precedent, except, perchance, in the history of the Irish massacre. . . . A singularly well-conditioned and wholesome district of country has been converted into one wide ulcer of wretchedness and woe."¹ Those Highlanders were not evicted for non-payment of rent, but simply turned out of their homes to convert their little holdings into enormous sheep-farms. About the end of the last century the poorer people had lost certain proprietary rights, and the lairds drove them out without pity, and even burnt down their cabins to compel their instant departure across the Atlantic. To carry out these Sutherland evictions, Mackenzie, in his *Highland Clearances* (1881), says:—

"South countrymen were introduced, and the land given to them for sheep farms over the heads of the native tenantry. These strangers were made justices of the peace, and armed with all sorts of authority in the country, and thus enabled to act in the most harsh and tyrannical fashion, none making them afraid; while the oppressed natives were placed completely at their mercy. They dare not even complain, for were not their oppressors also the administrators of the law. But having made no resistance, they expected permission to occupy their houses till they could gradually remove. At Mayday, to their consternation, a commencement was made to pull down and set fire to the houses over their heads. Every

¹ *Sutherland as it Was and Is.*

“thing that could not instantly be removed was consumed by fire or destroyed. The cries of the victims, the confusion, despair, and horror on the countenance of the one, and the exulting ferocity of the other, beggar all description. Many deaths ensued and some lost their reason from alarm, fatigue, and cold, the people being at the mercy of the elements. The inhabitants of Kildonan, nearly two thousand souls, except three families, were utterly rooted and burnt out, and the parish made a solitary wilderness.”

No poet laureate sung the sorrows of the outcasts. The author of *Marmion* did, indeed, gently—too gently—point out the dangers attending such an exercise of the rights of property at the time, observing that:—

“In too many instances the glens of the Highlands have been drained, not of their superfluity of population, but of the whole mass of the inhabitants, dispossessed by an unrelenting avarice, which will one day be found to have been as short-sighted as it is unjust and selfish.”

Terrible scenes of eviction occurred in the Scottish highlands at various periods subsequently, on the estates of other fiends in human form, at Strathglass in 1831, Strathconon in 1840-8, and various other places, at a still more recent date, which will be found more fully set forth in the Appendix. All took place under the sanction of the law, under the shadow of our elastic British Constitution, and in support of the rights of property now represented by—amongst others—the Duke of Sutherland, who owns 1,326,453 acres, covering nearly the whole area of the county which bears his name, and embracing about a seventeenth part of the entire kingdom of Scotland.

The modern churchmen shine but dimly in relation to enclosures, evictions, and clearances in the three kingdoms. During the proceedings of 1811-20 in Scotland, sixteen out of seventeen parish ministers actually took sides with the landlords, telling the unfortunate tenants it was all in punishment of their sins, and exhorting them not to fly in the face of Providence! In 1860, Lord Plunket, the Protestant Bishop of Tuam, in Ireland, indulged in the pastime hitherto left to laymen in that country, and evicted wholesale all those unfortunate Catholic

tenants of his who refused to send their children to his daughters' schools. The *Times* (27th of November 1860)—to its lasting honour—upbraided and denounced him, before he could be compelled to drop the crowbar from his consecrated hands, such was the exquisite delight he found in viewing the falling thatch, and crumbling masonry, and fleeing inhabitants. He thought he could do better for himself with the land, and he was ready with complaints against the evicted to cover his cupidity,—just as the Highland proprietors put forward fictitious excuses for their barbarous conduct in their own day. "It is not with much credulity," observes Edmund Burke, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, "that I listen to any when they speak ill of those whom they are going to plunder. I rather suspect that vices are feigned or exaggerated when profit is looked for in the punishment. An enemy is a bad witness—a robber is a worse." No wonder the Countess of Sutherland and her factor died serenely in their beds. It was Providence that was in fault, the peasants were assured by their spiritual guides, and so there was not even one amongst all the evicted prepared to earn that "eternal glory," which his eminent countryman, Sir James Mackintosh, once said "is due to men who, for the sake of justice, have been offenders against law." They marched off the land in mournful procession to make room for the sheep, "poor silly souls," as More styled their English fellows in like case, until at length some 2,000,000 acres of territory are said to have been depopulated and converted into grazing ground in the Scottish Highlands.¹

There have, indeed, been two honourable exceptions to the bench of dumb bishops, one a Protestant and the other a Catholic. The latter, Dr. Bagshawe, Bishop of Nottingham, a courageous and highly esteemed English ecclesiastic, denounced Irish evictions some time ago, but he was himself denounced in turn by the unfeeling English advisers of the Pope, who hold the Irish peasant's hands while Lords Hartington and Salisbury bludgeon him about the head. The other bishop, who experienced some searchings of the heart when he reflected on the tragedy in his

¹ For further information regarding the Scottish clearances, see Appendix.

own loved country, was Dr. Ewing, Bishop of Argyle and the Isles, whose reflections, unfortunately for his fame, have only been published since his death. Writing to his brother in 1868, this good man, who was so widely revered for his piety, said :—

“I have been reading Latimer's sermons and find that the “Land Question had a good deal to do with the Reformation. I “suspect that the unwarrantable enclosure of commons which has “deprived the poor of their own lands and houses, has not only “brought in a Poor Law, but lost us half our Highland population, “to the aggrandisement of a few lairds; so that it has become “expedient for a nation to die for one! A new reading! But “what are we to think of our prophets, who prophesied none of “these things, but kept things easy for the landlords, dwelling “on our duty of ‘doing our duty in the state of life’? &c. Is “there no prophet in Israel who will establish the Church by “establishing it in the hearts of the people? This and that “man get so much praise for employing so many people. If the “people had their own they would not require any one to “employ them. Jesus ‘had compassion on the multitude.’ “Perhaps I am ‘*mouton enragé*.’ Oh! for one hour of ‘bonnie “Dundee’—my ‘Dundee’ being a trifle like Garibaldi.”

Would that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Salford (who owns the *Tablet*), and Mr. Spurgeon (who wields the *Sword and Trowel*), experienced like searchings of the heart. “The name maketh not the bishop, “but the life,” according to Wyclif. Though it cannot either with propriety or justice be assumed that the entire British Episcopate are deficient as regards the common instincts of humanity, it is only too true that the bishops have hitherto signally failed to establish the Church “in the hearts of the “people.” Mr. Spurgeon lately observed that the people were turning Pagans—“they are just Pagans,” he is reported to have said. It is extremely likely. Of all the intellectual, controversial, and sensational sermons now preached at St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the Pro-Cathedral, and the Metropolitan Tabernacle, there is not one which breathes the spirit of Rouse or More, Latimer or Bernard Gilpin, in defence of Her Majesty's poor commons. It would savour too much of Politics in the Pulpit, forsooth. If it be the office of a bishop to admonish, it

can hardly be said that the bishops of the Church of England, for instance, have discharged this primary duty in respect to the inhumanity born of misgovernment in Ireland and Scotland. They will have to rouse themselves into sympathy with the poor and the oppressed in Great Britain and Ireland, and preach the doctrines of our common humanity, if they mean to resist and overcome the giant forces of socialism and unbelief now threatening to overwhelm us with their pestilent speeches and publications. It is a sad and unhappy but undeniable truth that many, very many, of the authors of such speeches and writings are gradually making conquest of the hearts of the poor by the intense earnestness of their gospel of compassionate sympathy and human brotherhood.

There is a passage in the *Life* of the great and wise Prince Albert—whose too early death has, perhaps, been the severest loss this nation has suffered during the present century—in which we are told how, in 1845, while yet a young man, he ventured to warn the bishops privately that they should be Christians and “not mere Churchmen.” They should come forward, he urged, and boldly and manfully advise the House of Lords and the country “when the interests of humanity are “at stake,” and remember that the Church does not exist for itself, but for the people, “and that it ought to have no higher “aim than to be the Church of the people; . . . reminding the “peers of their duties as Christians,” &c. In his capacity of a Scottish landowner, also, this young prince—a foreigner—at the early age of thirty, offered an example worthy of imitation which was sadly neglected by native Scottish peers in a like position. According to Tulloch’s admirable story of his *Life*:—

“No view of self-interest entered into his calculations. He “loved the [Highland] people, he admired their character, and “he respected their prejudices as the antique vestiges of other “days. . . . To increase the comforts of his tenants, to elevate “their moral and social condition, were objects steadily kept “in view from the time the prince became a proprietor of “Highland property, and they were pursued with unabated “zeal to the end of his life.”

The Scottish agrarian question and the Irish agrarian question are so far identical, that Mr. Parnell only behaved like a chivalrous gentleman, when he led his followers into the lobby of the House of Commons lately, to proclaim that the Irish people, at least, bore no hostility to the children of an illustrious prince and ideal Highland landlord. The Prince Consort endeavoured by precept and example to impress upon the English Episcopacy and the Scottish aristocracy at the same time, wherein lay the path of safety as well as the path of duty—rebuking even the disastrous sporting craze of the latter by a habit of getting quickly over his own sport, with the explanation that he could not understand “people making a business of shooting by going “out for the whole day.”

The question of the land may be considered as having reached an acute stage in Scotland as well as Ireland, since the Prime Minister has now advised the Prince of Wales that his son-in-law, the new Duke of Fife, is the most suitable person to preside at the Edinburgh banquet to do honour to Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew. No more perilous counsel has been given a member of the royal family in modern times. To say nothing of the bad taste in offering gratuitous offence to the Irish parliamentary representatives who so recently assisted Mr. Gladstone to secure the royal grants, there is the painful fact that the late Mr. Balfour committed flagrant offences against the people if not the State by the wholesale eviction of his tenantry in the Scottish Highlands barely forty years ago, as will be found more or less fully related in our Appendix. Now, eviction is still exactly what it was described by Lord Keeper Coventry in 1635, “A crime of a crying nature, that barreth “God of His honour, and the king of his subjects.” Nor can it be denied that whatever profit accrued to the Balfour-Salisbury family estate by this unscriptural removal of the “ancient landmarks,” together with the people themselves, the present Mr. Balfour, whom the Prince of Wales is thus unwittingly persuaded to honour, is the person in ostensible enjoyment of that profit. *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

CHAPTER III.

THE GENESIS OF CRIME AND OUTRAGE IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

“The violence of outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people, and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live.”—MACAULAY.

It may safely be affirmed that there has never been a period in English history when Englishmen have not resisted tyranny and oppression by more or less formidable defiance and disregard of what is conventionally termed “law and order.” It is so long since many of us have been at school, and the columns of the daily papers have absorbed so much of our attention meanwhile, we have nearly, if not quite, forgotten some of the most striking events in our annals which go to prove the fact. But the events are nevertheless there. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a distinguished statesman, made the question of crime and outrage in England and Ireland a special study. That Ireland possesses no such monopoly of crime as some persons find it their political interest to pretend, may be inferred from the following observations in his *Crime and Disturbance in Ireland*:—

“When in England the opinion of a large body has been in favour of atrocious crimes, atrocious crimes have been committed.” He instances the outrages perpetrated by the trades unions as a sufficient proof, whereas, he says, “the tendency to violent outrage amongst the Irish peasantry is precisely one of those dispositions which are the creatures of circumstances, and is very far from being one of those habits which are proverbially said to become a second nature.”

We are reading a good deal from time to time in our histories and class-books of the doings of the White Boys in the sister country as objects of detestation and alarm. But our Saxon Right Boys, who slew the Normans stealthily after the battle of Hastings, when and where and how they could, are but the objects of glowing admiration on the part of Lord Macaulay, Thierry, and other historians of the Conquest:—

“Some bold men,” Macaulay observes, “the favourite heroes of our oldest ballads, betook themselves to the woods, and there, in defiance of curfew laws and forest laws, waged a predatory war against their oppressors. Assassination was an event of daily occurrence. Many Normans suddenly disappeared, leaving no trace. The corpses of many were found bearing the marks of violence. Death by torture was denounced against the murderers, and strict search was made for them, but generally in vain; for the whole nation was in a conspiracy to screen them.”

Reverting to the contention of Sir Cornewall Lewis, what is maintained is this: that whenever large masses of Englishmen (or Scotchmen) have believed that their rights or their interests might be asserted or promoted by crime, whether in the form of assassination, insurrection, or riotous violence, crime of this nature has been ruthlessly perpetrated, in furtherance of the purpose of the malcontents. It is just as well we should see ourselves as others see us. There is a passage in the *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, by Sir Jonah Barrington, a work now frequently referred to in the present controversy regarding Home Rule, which is not undeserving a place here:—

“It is not,” observes Barrington, “by modern or isolated events alone, that a fair judgment can be formed of the characteristic attributes of any nation; still less so of a worried and misgoverned people. It is only by recurring to remoter periods, thence tracing, step by step, the conduct of Ireland throughout all her provocations, her miseries, and her persecutions; and then comparing the extent of her sufferings, her endurance, and her loyalty, with those of her sister countries during the same periods, that the comparative character of both can be justly appreciated, and those calumnies which

“have weighed so heavily on her reputation be effectually
“refuted. It is a matter of indisputable fact, that during the
“twenty reigns which succeeded the first submission of the
“Irish princes, the fidelity of Ireland to the British monarchs
“was but seldom interrupted, and that Irish soldiers were not
“unfrequently brought over to England to defend their English
“sovereigns against the insurrections of English rebels. But
“when we pursue the authenticated facts of British annals
“during the same twenty reigns, we find that an unextinguish-
“able spirit of disaffection to their princes, and an insatiable
“thirst for rebellion and disloyalty signalised every reign, and
“almost every year of British history, during the same period ;
“that above thirty civil wars raged within the English nation ;
“four of their monarchs were dethroned ; three of their kings
“were murdered, and during four centuries, the standard of
“rebellion scarcely ever ceased to wave over some portion of
“that distracted island ; and so deeply had disloyalty been
“engrafted in the very nature of the British nobles and British
“people, that insurrection and regicide, if not the certain, were
“the expected consequences of every coronation. Through
“these observations, the eye of England will at length be
“directed to these events. They will then be convinced that
“there lurked within the bosom of Great Britain herself the
“germs of a disquietude more unremitting, a licentiousness more
“inflammatory, a fanaticism more intolerant, and a political
“agitation more dangerous and unjustifiable, than any which
“even her most inveterate foes can justly extract from an
“impartial history of the libelled country. . . . When it pleased
“heaven, during the French Revolution, to inflict a temporary
“derangement on the reason of mankind, a spirit of wild demo-
“cracy, under the mask of liberty, appeared in fanciful forms to
“seduce away or destroy the peace, the morality, the order, and
“the allegiance of every European people. . . . That contagion
“which so vitally affected the nations of Europe, originating in
“France, soon displayed its symptoms in every part of Great
“Britain ; and when in progress to full maturity, and not before,
“was carried into Ireland by collision with the English and
“Scots Republicans.”

And then Barrington refers to the state trials and the reports of the Secret Committee of England, in the year 1794, in vindication of his statement. By those reports of the Secret Committee, it appears that Edinburgh, and various other places

in Great Britain, were infected long before Ireland; and Mr. Secretary Dundas annexed accurate drawings of the different forms of pikes, battle-axes, &c., which were fabricated in Scotland, his own country, for the purposes of treason and murder, to illustrate his alarming information on the subject. On the other hand, it is only just to remember that there have been but three rebellions in Ireland worthy of the name since the date of the first English invasion in 1169-70, viz., the Desmond Rebellion, the Rebellion of 1641, and the Rebellion of 1798; each one of which is admitted by English historians and English statesmen to have been the direct outcome of misgovernment and grievous wrong, as will be found clearly established in these pages. Of such elementary facts in English and Scottish history we shall be clearly convinced as we proceed, though of necessity they must be stated briefly. In the seventeenth and the eighteenth, as well as in the present century, for instance, the first impulse of the English people in town and country was to have recourse to violence in the endeavour to exclude new machinery having for its object the cheapening and simplification of labour. As far back as the reign of Charles II., the weavers, thinking themselves wronged by the introduction of engine-loom, they banded together to destroy as many as possible of them, without regard either to law or order. In 1697 there was formidable rioting in London, directed against the East India Company, by the silk-weavers, who took short measures to resist the importation of manufactured silk into England. The rioters exhibited courage as well as resolution, and were only dispersed with the assistance of the troops, when they were on the point of success in attacking the India House. And it may be mentioned, as showing how easy it is to get up serious rioting in Great Britain irrespective of any specially grinding tyranny to provoke it, that the imposition of a new malt-tax in Scotland occasioned serious riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow at the beginning of the last century. According to Hume, it had been carried through the corruption of the Scottish members, to whom Walpole allowed ten guineas a-week during their stay in London, telling them that they must make good

the cost out of the Scottish revenue, or else "tie up their stockings with their own garters."

Between 1756, when the new town-hall of Nottingham was destroyed in a corn riot, and 1769, there was chronic discontent in England throughout the entire country. The cause was high prices of provisions, with specific grievances affecting particular classes. Unlike the Irish, Englishmen have never yet exhibited any striking degree of patience or meekness when the gaunt wolf of hunger darkened their door. On the contrary, they have always shown, happily for themselves, a very different spirit on such occasions. Now accordingly the Durham miners and the London weavers broke out into insurrection, as well as the labouring classes in Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire. The sailors belonging to the merchant service on the Tyne and Thames shared in the general discontent, and there were the mutinies of the Nore and Portsmouth, the result of Admiralty blundering and oppression at the same time. Half a century later Colonel Despard's conspiracy came to light, having for its object to corrupt the army, seize the Bank of England and the Tower, and assassinate the king. Then there was a formidable plot against the life of George II., which was revealed to Sheridan in 1756; and numerous attempts were made from time to time by conspirators to effect the murder of George III. If Irishmen had taken part in them there might be some palliation found for the crime in the fact that he was their cruel, bitter, unrelenting enemy. "Ignorant, dishonest, "obstinate," observes Phillimore, "he was the tool of an adúlteress and her paramour." The pious monarch would not, however, tolerate the ownership of land by Irish Catholics; which Burke attributed to his pride and arrogance. Yet it was not his Irish but his English subjects that stoned his carriage when the king was on his way to and returning from the opening of Parliament on one memorable occasion.

In the autumn of 1766 large assemblages of the people, collected to discuss the high price of provisions and high taxes of the time, were only dispersed by the military after considerable loss of life. At Derby they were hotly charged by cavalry;

and elsewhere also there were many lives lost in consequence. Still they vigorously resisted starvation and oppression everywhere, from Cornwall to Northumberland. *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori* is a very beautiful sentiment, but from 1757 downwards there is evidence that there were discontented Britons unpatriotic enough to conspire with foreigners for the invasion and assassination of their own country. One James Aitken came from America to set fire to Portsmouth Dockyard, and afterwards to a part of Bristol. Then Bellingham, the Liverpool broker, who assassinated the Prime Minister in 1812, had no such overpowering provocation to extenuate his crime. Mr. Perceval had not at least directed the battering-ram and the petroleum fuse to level his house to the ground and afterwards set fire to the *débris*.

During the Napoleonic war the landowners and merchants revelled in huge profits, while the English peasant and artizan bore the burden of the prolonged struggle, without sharing either the gains or the glory of those who boasted of their well rewarded heroism. The war over, the landlord Parliament strove to bolster up their falling rents by enacting the exclusion of foreign corn, even though Demos should starve. A spirit of disaffection rapidly spread amongst the working classes, culminating at length in an outrage upon the Prince Regent, as he was returning from the opening of Parliament, in January 1817. This led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In August 1819, Henry Hunt organised a monster meeting, for the promotion of much needed Parliamentary reform, in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester. This was no better than insolent presumption in the eyes of the Tory ministers of that day. The attempt to apprehend Hunt, as a disturber of "law and order," led to a fearful riot, in the course of which some half-dozen persons were killed, and a proportionate number wounded. The affair obtained the name of the Peterloo Massacre, in derision of the Duke of Wellington's crowning victory in 1815; the hero of the latter being now the object of special unpopularity owing to his Tory politics. About the same time, one Benbow proposed, amidst great cheering, at

a public meeting at Birch, near Middleton, that they should march to London, "to present their petition at the point of the sword and the pike." Alarm took possession of the "classes," Parliament was summoned to meet in November, and the Government at once introduced the infamous Six Acts, or the "Gagging Bills," as they were called. Those Acts forbade the carrying of arms or drilling; proclaimed public meetings; gave constables the right of domiciliary search; and effectually muzzled the newspapers. As leader of the Liverpool Government in the Lower House, Lord Castlereagh, who had served his apprenticeship to coercion and corruption in Dublin Castle during the ante-Union period, undertook the congenial task of piloting these severe measures through the Commons; and he accomplished it. How did the English people demean themselves under the circumstances? In meekest submission, of course? Well, we shall see. It was only after this repressive legislation had been initiated that English rioting, English conspiracies, and English monster agitation really began. They remembered Castlereagh even in his grave. While the suicide's remains were being deposited in Westminster Abbey, the people gave vent to the popular execration in which he had long been held. The Tory Alison describes the *vox populi* as the "horrid shout of miscreants." Anyhow it was loud and exulting enough to rend the air, and, as it broke upon the solemn stillness of the funeral ceremony, to warn the distinguished mourners within that the English masses were no longer in the humour to submit to legislative class tyranny and oppression of the pattern in vogue in Ireland. Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister of those coercion days in England, whose administration lasted altogether nearly fifteen years, viewed any proposal for Parliamentary reform as a token of impending revolution. He was immovable. What was once wittily said of another by Courier, a Frenchman, has not inaptly been employed to describe his state of mind. If Lord Liverpool had been present at the dawn of creation, he must, it was said, in his horror of change, have inevitably exclaimed, "*Mon Dieu! Conservons le chaos!*" And the Duke of Wellington, his colleague, was little better,

except that an aristocratic contempt for the masses, such as he is now known to have extended to his soldiers, was at the bottom of his immobility. These were supported by Lord Eldon, whose pretended zeal for religion was exemplified by his never going to church. But the party had a series of rude awakenings. The excitement consequent upon the Peterloo Massacre was quickly followed by that arising out of the Cato Street Conspiracy; in which twenty or thirty persons, under the leadership of one Thistlewood, conceived the horrid project of murdering the whole of the Cabinet ministers when they should be assembled for dinner at the house of Lord Harrowby. That the Cato Street Conspiracy might have produced disastrous results owing to the widespread discontent of the time is very evident. The importance of such a design is not always to be measured by its success. Pike, in the second volume of his *History of Crime*, observes :—

“Had Thistlewood and his accomplices, like the communists of Paris in 1871, set fire to the capital, and seized all the artillery which could be used for its protection; had they, as was also intended, massacred all the cabinet ministers, and proclaimed a Republic, with the Mansion House as the headquarters of the provisional Government, they might to some extent have directed the course of English history. It is not to be supposed that they would have become the rulers of England, but they would probably have caused a civil war.”

Those outbursts of popular discontent did not stand alone. There were other conspiracies afoot in England at this period as well. They shall be related, however briefly, by one of England's most distinguished statesmen, together with the very sufficient cause which gave rise to them. We may notice first what he says as to the genesis of outrage in Ireland, since it is the purpose of these preliminary chapters to institute comparisons between public events in Great Britain and Ireland, not with any invidious object, but because it is necessary to expose the *argumentum ad ignorantiam* of unscrupulous politicians whether in Parliament or the press.

CHAPTER IV.

DEMOS AROUSED AND DETERMINED IN BRITAIN.

"In my time disaffection prevailed in many parts of England and [many] wild schemes were afloat."—LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

IN a public letter addressed to Mr. Chichester Fortescue (now Lord Carlingford) in 1868, Lord John Russell made the following observations on English misgovernment in Ireland; and, at the same time, explained the circumstances under which the unlamented Castlereagh imposed coercion, according to Dublin Castle precedent, upon the necks of the English people:—

"In Ireland," writes Lord John, "the increase of trade and the growth of manufactures were nipped in the bud by the jealousy of England. No poor law was introduced; and from 1760 to 1829 the creation of fagot freeholds augmented greatly the struggle for small patches of land, from which alone the means of living were to be obtained. Hence the murders, the agrarian outrages, the crimes against person and property, of which Sir Cornewall Lewis has left so frightful a catalogue in his volume on *Crime and Disturbance in Ireland*."

In the same public letter, Lord John made the following observations respecting crime and outrage in England:—

"In my time, though not in that of most of my readers, disaffection prevailed in many parts of England. Wild schemes were afloat; one set of men planned taking the Tower of London with a stocking filled with gunpowder. Another set conspired to murder the Cabinet ministers, while they were dining together at Lord Harrowby's, and were actually arriving for that horrid purpose when they were arrested by a detachment of the Guards. Nothing more atrocious than this Cato Street Conspiracy can well be imagined.

“The general state of the country in those years is thus shortly described by Sir Henry Bulwer, in his interesting and instructive work, called *Historical Characters*.—‘The Sovereign and the Administration were unpopular—the people generally ignorant and undisciplined, neither the one nor the other understanding the causes of the prevalent disaffection, nor having any idea how it should be dealt with.’ The artizans of Manchester,” Lord John resumes, “thought at that time of marching to London, each with a blanket on his shoulder; Lord Castlereagh introduced bills which he called measures of severe coercion. Both people and Government were wrong; the distress passed away; the disaffection was cured by prosperity and improved administration. No one then thought of saying that the Cato Street Conspiracy was owing to the wickedness of the English people, and required ‘martial law’ as its remedy.”

And Lord John Russell, certainly one of the greatest constitutional authorities of the present century, proceeds forthwith to apply his argument to the condition of things in Ireland, then scarcely emerging from the results of the Fenian scare; when certain heedless rhetoricians were screaming themselves hoarse in favour of what Mr. Bright once described as the old “poisonous” remedy of force. Nor did tumultuous violence cease then. The agitation which preceded the Reform Bill of 1832 presented scenes of terrific and memorable excitement. The Tories, represented by Wellington and Peel, were, for their opposition, denounced as enemies of the king and the people alike. Serious riots occurred in various places, especially in Scotland, and lives were lost. In most of the great towns only those candidates for Parliamentary honours dared show themselves who would undertake to vote for “the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.” In the old English agrarian risings in the midland and northern counties between two and three centuries earlier, the insurgents carried banners modestly inscribed “God speed the plough,” which, freely interpreted, meant, “Devil take the sheep and bullocks.” In 1832 the Reformers marched to enormous mass meetings in drill bands, their banners being more variously suggestive of insubordination and disorder,—“Annual Parliaments,” “No Corn-Laws,” “Universal

"Suffrage," "God armeth the Patriot," "Equal Representation "or Death!" And when the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords what did the Reformers do? They again resorted to rioting—fearful rioting—in various directions. At Nottingham, for instance, where the ancient castle of the Duke of Newcastle was burnt; at Derby, where the jail was forced, and the prisoners liberated; and at Bristol, where it lasted several days, till many of the public buildings, and a great part of Queen's Square, were destroyed, while 100 persons were either killed or wounded. Birmingham also suffered severely, and is said to have been described by the Duke of Wellington, upon whose shoulders rested much of the responsibility, as having the appearance of a city sacked by an enemy's troops.

During the ten years ending in 1840, the discontent of the poorer classes, arising from distress, originated the riotous agitation for the People's Charter in 1839. Scandalous newspapers mockingly directed attention to the Court festivities of the time, and the Queen, in spite of her youth, beauty, and innocence, was made the target of an assassin in Hyde Park. Then supervened the formidable Anti-Corn Law agitation, during which the Private Secretary of Sir Robert Peel was assassinated in London in mistake for Peel himself. The Reform meetings of 1866, and the alarming destruction of the Hyde Park railings resulting from them, are not quite ancient history. It will be remembered that it was those imposing meetings and their violent oratory which enabled Mr. Disraeli to "educate" the Tory squires preparatory to his famous "leap in the dark" the following year, when Lords Salisbury and Carnarvon tried, in consequence, to scuttle the Derby-Dizzy ship rather than yield to the just demands of the people. If those demands had not been granted at the time, past experience shows clearly enough that there would have been further rioting elsewhere, as well as in Hyde Park. The Reformers of 1866-7 would not, we may be sure, any more than their predecessors of 1831-2, have felt themselves restrained from indulging in violence and outrage out of any special deference to the Tory ministers then in power.

For want of space no attempt can here be made to supplement the foregoing facts by referring to those riots which took place from time to time in the Principality, as well as in England. But any one who remembers, or has read of the Rebeccaites of 1843, will acknowledge that the Welsh people possessed the power of striking terror also. For the same reason it is necessary to pass over the doings of the Luddites (1811-16); the polite warnings of Captain Swing (1830-3), in regard to the intrusion of power-looms and threshing-machines respectively; and deal sparingly with the criminal outrages of the trades-unions in England and Scotland. Combination is one of the most obvious, and, in some circumstances, one of the most justifiable of defensive measures. The oppressive laws to which the labour-classes were formerly subjected, in town and country, rendered it absolutely necessary for their own protection. In one form or another combinations, in the shape of trades-unions, have existed for centuries, as may be inferred from the fact that, as early as 1548, a statute of Edward VI. is directed against them. Fines, the pillory, and loss of ears followed a breach of its enactments. As late as 1725 a tariff of wages was drawn up by the Manchester justices, declaring that any workmen conspiring to obtain more than the rate thus fixed, should, for the third offence, stand in the pillory and lose each of them an ear. In fact, until 1824-5, it was unlawful for men to combine, either verbally or in writing, for maintaining a rate of wages, or limiting the hours of labour, except at the risk of being punished by imprisonment as criminals. Relics of those barbarous statutes and arbitrary usages survived in England long afterwards even. Under a variety of Acts, agricultural servants, for instance, could be sentenced to imprisonment by a justice of the peace for breach of their service contracts. This liability was only abolished in 1875, so that it is within quite a recent period they became entitled to relief, under the remedies provided by the Employers and Workmen Act of that year. The labourer, whether on the land or in the workshop, is always more or less heavily handicapped in a contest with the landowner or the capitalist. The

master may suffer loss, but the servant is ruined. The unequal position of the latter was sufficiently exasperating at times, and all these cruel enactments only rendered it doubly so.

The best account of the operations of the trades-unions is to be found in the Report of the Social Science Committee, appointed at Bradford in 1859, of which the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and Professor Fawcett, were members. A carefully compiled abstract of this Report appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 29th of June 1887, from the very competent pen of Professor Beesly, from which we learn a number of startling and terrible facts. For instance, outrages by beating and smearing with tar are mentioned in 1817. In 1821, and again in 1823, men were hung for murders committed in connection with the sawyers' trade. At Ashton-under-Lyne, in 1831, an employer was assassinated, and it was proved at the trial of the assassins, three years later, that they had acted by an order of the Spinners' Union, and were to receive £10 for the fearful job. Several other attempts at murder by shooting took place about the same time. In 1859-60 there were many outrages among the chainmakers in Worcestershire and Staffordshire. Property was damaged, horses were injured, and several attempts were made to blow up workshops with gunpowder. In 1819-23 we read that in the Glasgow and Paisley cotton trade there was a series of outrages of the most atrocious character; the lowest depths of barbarity being reached in vitriol-throwing and woman-beating. There were a great many cases of shooting. The organisation of the Union was kept very secret, and therefore no information could be gained concerning it. Large rewards were offered for the conviction of offenders, but without result. The oath by which the combined cotton-spinners bound themselves was in the following terms:—"I, A. B., do voluntarily swear in the awful presence "of Almighty God, that I will execute with zeal and alacrity "as far as in me lies every task or injunction which the "majority of my brethren shall impose upon me in furtherance "of our common welfare; as the chastisement of knobs, the "assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or demo-

"lition of the shops that shall be incorrigible." In 1838, after a trial of members of the Glasgow cotton-spinners' committee, the sheriff said :—

"In the course of the arduous duty which officially fell upon us of tracing out the ramifications of this momentous conspiracy, and discovering and protecting the witnesses by whom it was to be established, I have often almost despaired of success, not from a doubt as to the reality of the crimes charged against the conspirators, not from a doubt of the share which the accused had in their perpetration, but from the extraordinary power and indefatigable efforts of a numerous association, consisting in this neighbourhood of several thousand persons, combined with hundreds of thousands throughout the whole empire" [here the sheriff was drawing on his imagination, Professor Beesly thinks], "by whose activity and intimidation the arm of justice in this country has, for the last twenty years, in relation to crimes of this description, been so often paralysed. I rejoice to think that its misdeeds are at length completely brought to light; and that despite all the efforts of intimidation, and all the attempts at concealment, the acts of assassination and fire-raising, by which terror has so long been spread through the West of Scotland, have been traced to their real source, and the system by which they were perpetrated fully developed."

So far Professor Beesly. But there are also other revelations arising out of the Special Commissions of 1867, particularly that at Sheffield. Like the brickmakers of Lancashire, the Sheffield grinders began with merely refusing to work with non-unionists. But their methods of procedure frequently ended in brutal and murderous outrage. Out of some sixty trades-unions in that town, thirteen were proved to have promoted or encouraged outrages of various degrees of criminality, including personal violence and murder. Several of them had been paying money for their perpetration; or allowing it to be taken from the funds for the purpose without observation or inquiry. If "rattening" failed to convey sufficient warning it was succeeded by anonymous threats of vengeance against the refractory workmen, which, in too many instances, were carried out to the last extremity. Thus, in 1854, a man named Elisha

Parker had his house blown up by gunpowder, his horse hamstrung, and himself disabled by a pistol-shot ; because he worked with non-union men in spite of warnings requiring him to quit his employment. In 1857, James Linley was shot at and wounded for changing his business of grinding scissors for that of grinding saws ; another of his offences being the keeping of more apprentices than the rules of the union prescribed. And, as he persisted in defying the union, he was shot dead, by means of an air-gun, in 1859. Again, it was proved before the Royal Commission at Manchester that in the brickmaking trade outrages had been committed hardly less atrocious than those at Sheffield ; explosions in dwelling-houses, and hamstringing of horses being common. The evidence given at Dudley and Wolverhampton revealed a similar state of things. Of the vitrol-throwing at Glasgow, the Swing fires in agricultural counties, and various other periodical outbreaks, little can here be said. It was not the severity of the law, but an alteration of the law, and the abolition of harsh and exceptional law, that led to the cessation of these frightful outrages in Great Britain. But with all that can possibly be urged in their extenuation, will anybody venture to maintain that the originating provocation is for one moment to be compared with those scenes of eviction that are of perennial occurrence amongst the poorest of the poor in Ireland ; urging its victims by every law of nature to passionate resentment against the destroyer of their homes and existence, humble and wretched though they be ? In one case crime is committed only for the purpose of maintaining a certain rate of wages, or to obtain shorter hours of labour. In the other it is perpetrated to resist, or avert, or avenge what is nothing short of the moral and physical destruction of the family, mainly composed of half-starved and nearly naked women and children. Would that members and supporters of the Government, and their Liberal allies, remembered these humiliating facts, and ceased to practice the dishonest art of concealment and flattery when addressing public meetings.

CHAPTER V.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND COMPARED.

"The truth is, in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever."—SIR JOHN DAVIS (1612).

As regards estimates of political, agrarian, and ordinary crime in England and Ireland in more recent times, there are passages in the *Journals* of Mr. Nassau Senior, the well-known English political economist, which are at once discriminating and instructive. Speaking of the sister kingdom, he says:—

"There is really not much crime in Ireland. A few crimes of a frightful nature are committed; they fill us with horror and terror, and their peculiarly mischievous tendency—directed as they are against the improvement of the country¹—forces them on our attention. But burglary seems to be almost unknown. Colonel Senior never bars his doors or his windows. There is little theft, there is no poisoning, little unchastity. One of the evils most common in a disturbed country is the insecurity of the roads. Though Ireland has been disturbed for centuries the roads have always been safe."

The Irish peasants, it is true, have sometimes given vent to their fury on the dumb animals which have supplanted them on the land, and in the estimation of the landlord and the Government. But the circumstance has not been a common

¹ Mr. Senior approved of depopulation and the clearance system, considering sheep and bullocks preferable to human beings. This it was that led him to regard it as highly reprehensible in the latter to resist violence by violence, in the process of eviction. One is amazed at the erroneous conscience possessed by so singularly able a man.

one, though it has been exaggerated in the press beyond all rational inference. And it has been the chief stock-in-trade of the unscrupulous platform orator during the last few years, in the absence of anything better calculated to serve his dishonest purpose. It will generally be seen that audiences, to which men of the stamp of Mr. Chamberlain, for instance, pander, are far more readily impressed by stories of the kind, well or ill-founded, affecting brute beasts, than by even the most terrible narrative of suffering endured by human beings, whether aged or infantile, in the process of eviction from the shelter of their humble home and fireside. The houghing of a single bullock, or the disfigurement of a horse's tail, inspires such curious humanitarians with horror, real or affected, when such detestable and cowardly offences occur in Ireland. But we hear of no extraordinary exclamations of horror or indignation in the press or on the platform when Mr. John Colam reads his prosaic report on Cruelty to Animals in England, at the annual meeting of his society in Jermyn Street, St. James's, though the sixty-fourth and last report published shows that there were close upon FIVE THOUSAND *convictions* for offences committed on dumb animals in England and Wales in 1887 alone. The injustice of this too common charge against the Irish is aggravated by the fact that offences of the kind in Ireland may be, and undoubtedly often are—like threatening letters—committed in the interests of the landlords, or other persons who think it useful to their cause to blacken the character of the peasants. Yet they were made one of the chief grounds upon which Mr. Forster obtained his Coercion Act in 1881, when he stated to the House of Commons that there had been exactly 101 “cases”—not convictions—of maiming cattle during the previous year throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone, writing to a correspondent in regard to such offences, in October last year, said, with his usual discernment and sense of justice :—

“The Irish are a very humane people, and the occasional “deviation from humanity in regard to cattle has a peculiar “history which ought to make us blush as well as them.”

Of course Mr. Gladstone is referring to the extraordinary preference which the Government, as well as the landlords, have uniformly shown for the brute creation over human beings in Ireland, as exemplified by their systematic support of the landlord policy of wholesale eviction at all times. There are too many amongst us, including our poet laureate, whose affection for the dumb animals is only surpassed by their indifference towards the sad lot of their fellow-creatures in Ireland. To such persons, living in an atmosphere of cant without being conscious of it, one might commend the lines of Coleridge :—

“He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man, and bird, and beast ;
He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small ;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.”

Another too common superstition in regard to crime in Ireland, which is much cherished by a large number of people, is also due to the platform orators in question. They impose on their dupes by telling them persistently that we are, in Great Britain, such a law-abiding people, there is no such thing as screening criminals amongst us, whereas in Ireland to secure the capture of a criminal is almost impossible on account of the alleged sympathy of the population. No doubt there is often sympathy there for the perpetrator of agrarian outrages, who does but execute the *lex talionis* on the evicting landlord or his agents. But what are the facts in regard to the question generally? Under the head of “criminal and judicial statistics,” *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1888 shows that the proportion of apprehensions to indictable offences is actually *much higher* in Ireland than in England, the numbers being 59 per cent. in Ireland in 1884, while in England they were only 43.2 per cent. during the same year.

Again, addressing a meeting of Primrose Dames at Birmingham on the 26th of April last, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain wound up a bitter harangue in this manner :—

“I say without hesitation that this Parnellite agitation—this “Gladstonian-Parnellite agitation—was the most immoral agita

“tion this country has seen, and in the course of it women have
“suffered even more than men. Women in Ireland have seen
“the men of their families, their fathers, their brothers, and
“their children shot down at their feet in spite of their prayers
“and entreaties. Women have afterwards been jeered and
“mocked at in their affliction, women have been boycotted and
“ruined, and in some cases driven to madness, and women have
“throughout suffered by all the practices which we deplore.”

Now, during the whole ten years that have elapsed since the agrarian agitation commenced in 1879, such cases as are here referred to might be counted on the fingers of one hand—certainly of two hands—which would give one such revolting case for every year. When Mr. Forster endeavoured to secure his Coercion Act in 1881 he unfolded before the House of Commons a minute description of “carding” in Ireland, which means applying a kind of curry-comb to the back of the victim. His audience was struck dumb with horror, but it was afterwards ascertained that he had unearthed but one solitary atrocity of the kind for the entire year of 1880 throughout the whole of Ireland. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain spits out his venom in this instance only to damage the English Liberal party by odious associations. What an amount of unabashed malice a person must be possessed of to presume so far upon our ignorance in this matter, with so much reliable information at hand. The Blue-Book of criminal statistics for England and Wales for 1885 exhibits in painful detail the fact that 43,962 indictable offences were committed during the year, and that 19,207 persons only were apprehended in connection with them, a state of things which shows that sympathy with criminals, if it is to be judged, as in Ireland, by the number of unpunished crimes, prevails in England as in other countries. In the year 1885 there were 136 murders in England, 49 attempts to murder, 652 cases of shooting at, wounding, stabbing, &c., 269 cases of manslaughter, and 156 unnatural offences. There were also 290 cases of rape, and 569 unsuccessful indecent assaults; besides 633 other assaults, 3169 burglaries, 2302 attempts at burglaries, 373 cases of robbery with violence, 276 cases of horse

stealing, 181 of sheep stealing, and 27,797 larcenies, all of which make up a catalogue of horrors which Ireland—where the vast majority of criminal offences are purely agrarian in their character—could scarcely hope to emulate. If merely the coping of a wall be thrown down there, the incident is carefully telegraphed by the ubiquitous “Our own Correspondent” as *an agrarian outrage*. Under the head of “Malicious Offences and Wilful “Damage” in England and Wales, the same Blue-Book reports as follows:—

Destroying Fences, Walls, and Gates . . .	2,903
„ Fruit and Vegetable Productions . . .	1,416
„ Trees and Shrubs . . .	1,666
Other Offences	16,683

In the same year there were no less than 12,563 *aggravated assaults* committed on peace officers. And though there is, it is true, neither treason nor treason-felony in this appalling kalendar, yet in other respects it comprises almost every crime under heaven which can render man obnoxious to the Almighty.

Speaking at Cirencester in 1880 Sir Michael Hicks Beach candidly said that his experience in Ireland (as Lord Beaconsfield’s Chief Secretary):—

“Had taught him one lesson. They must not believe all the “exaggerated reports they had heard; they must not consider “as true of the whole of Ireland what might be true of one “or two small parts of the country. It did not follow that “because murder had been committed in the West that, “therefore, the City of Dublin was not as safe as the town of “Cirencester. He feared that press correspondents, anxious, “no doubt, to gratify the desire of the public for news, were “not always particular in the kind of news they supplied, and “certainly the press correspondents in Ireland were not more “particular than their brethren in England.”

After the defeat of Mr. Gladstone’s Government in 1874, Mr. Goschen, who was one of its members, declared in a public speech that his colleagues and he had been “lied out of office.” Mr. Disraeli cynically accounted for the resignation of the Government differently, by saying that Mr. Gladstone had

become discontented because of his majority being reduced to eighty—"Dizzy" himself having kept office for a time by shifts and subterfuges without any majority at all. However, accepting Mr. Goschen's explanation of the defeat, it must be very painful to a gentleman of so sensitive a nature to be now daily sitting side by side in sweet communion with the Lords Ananias and Ladies Sapphira, who are at the present moment keeping his old friends out of office, and himself in, by sheer lying of the same bold and uncompromising character in regard to Ireland. Yet is he not very much behind the worst of them in trotting out the old stale commonplaces about "crime and outrage," and "law and order" in that country whenever he is told off for the purpose. He may mince his words, and be not quite so shameless in his harangues as his friend, Mr. Chamberlain; but he contrives to ignore the facts and obscure the argument without more scruple. The "party" require it, and what the party require he must do, so long as he consents to wear their habiliments. Whenever such men address themselves to the "law-abiding" instincts of Englishmen or Scotchmen, they are only trying to "take them in," for whenever Englishmen or Scotchmen have been made hungry by misgovernment they have defied and trampled upon the law. It is painful to be obliged to speak of persons in such high office thus, but it is unavoidable in the circumstances. There is Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary, who afforded facilities to visitors to our Government prisons bent upon the wicked design of tempting unfortunate prisoners, by promises of lenient treatment, to fabricate evidence tending to discredit the Irish parliamentary representatives—thus suborning perjury to serve the meanest political purpose. Again, Mr. Smith, the First Lord of the Treasury, indecently selected three judges of his own political complexion to try the parliamentary opponents of her Majesty's Government in a manner unknown to the Constitution, every member of which was or should have been well informed beforehand that the principal and only important count in the indictment confided to Sir Richard Webster and Sir Henry James was founded upon flagrant lying, forgery and fraud.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FERTILITY AND INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF IRELAND.

"For this island, it is endowed with so many dowries of nature, . . . especially the race and generation of men—valiant, hard, and active, as it is not easy, no not upon the Continent, to find such confluence of commodities, "if the hand of man did join with the hand of Nature."—LORD BACON.

IRELAND is naturally fertile, possesses great industrial resources, and is admirably situated for successful commercial enterprise. The country abounds in fine harbours. Bantry Bay, and Cork Harbour, are almost unrivalled, each of them being capable of sheltering the entire naval forces of the empire. And there are besides quite a dozen harbours in addition, in which the largest men-of-war might ride in safety; with about seventy harbours fitted for the ordinary purposes of commerce. In short, a learned English authority, Newenham, in his *View of Ireland*, observes that most of the harbours of Ireland rank, in all respects, with the noblest in the world; several of them excelling those of which any other country can boast. The fertility of the pastoral and agricultural land in Ireland has also, from the earliest times, evoked the surprise and admiration of English and foreign writers. The Venerable Bede, one of the most trustworthy of our ecclesiastical historians, is led to observe that—"Scotia, which is also called Ireland, is an island of a truly fruitful soil; but more eminent even for its "most holy men,"—of whom something will be found in these pages, in explanation of England's indebtedness to Ireland. Edmund Spenser, the author of the *Faery Queen*, has described Ireland in the language of poetical hyperbole as a country formerly of such "wealth and goodness" that the gods used to resort thereto for "pleasure and for rest." But

he has also described it in the language of sober prose and truth, as follows :—

“And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes, like inland seas that will carry even shippes upon their waters. . . . Also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come into them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford; besides, the soyle itselfe fit to yeeld all kinde of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the east.”

Sir John Davis, Attorney-General for Ireland in the reign of James I., and an Englishman, has left behind him, in his *Discoverie*, an interesting picture of Ireland in the quaint language of the time, thus :—

“I have observed the good temperature of the air, the fruitfulness of the soil, the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation, the safe and large ports and havens, lying open for traffic to all the western parts of the world, the long inlets of many navigable rivers, and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the land, as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe; and lastly, the bodies and minds of the people endued with extraordinary abilities of nature.”

Arthur Young, the most distinguished of English travellers who have written about Ireland, through which he passed about 1777, exhibits marvellous industry in his searches after truth, so that his *Tour* is at the present day a standard work of reference. Alas! to our shame be it said, you might travel throughout Ireland in this year of our Lord, 1839, equipped with pocket editions of Arthur Young, as well as of Dean Swift, who preceded him by half a century, and find the economic condition of the country and its inhabitants generally in much the same state as that in which it was in the last century, as described by them. Speaking of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, Young observed as follows :—“It is the richest soil

"I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish." And referring to Ireland generally, he says, in Part II. of his *Tour*.—

"Natural fertility, acre for acre, over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland; of this I believe there can scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the more beautiful and best cultivated counties in England owe almost everything to the capital, art, and industry of the inhabitants."

Mr. MacLagan, M.P., in his *Land Culture*, 1869, observes :—
"The tillage lands of the South of Ireland, though not so rich as the pasture lands of Tipperary, Limerick, and the Meaths, are also of great fertility. I join heartily in the eulogium pronounced by Arthur Young and other judges of the richness of the soils of Ireland."—"In natural fertility," observes Richard Cobden, in the first volume of his *Political Writings*, "and in the advantage of navigable streams, lakes, and harbours, Ireland is more favoured than England, Scotland, or Wales."—"Superior to England as a soil," observes De Lavergne, in his *Essay on Rural Economy*. "As for the soil of Ireland," he writes, "it produces excellent pasture spontaneously. . . . In Ireland nature supplies grass in abundance."—Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland*, speaks of it as the richest pasturage in Europe. There is hardly any diversity of opinion on the subject. According to Sir Robert Kane, in his *Industrial Resources of Ireland*, that kingdom, which has now a population below 5,000,000, is capable, under proper management, of supporting in comfort 20,000,000 souls. M. de Beaumont says 25,000,000; Poulett-Scrope, 33,000,000. Sir Charles Napier, of Scinde, on the authority of Sir Humphry Davy, declared that 50,000,000 "could be well fed and happy in Ireland;" while Arthur Young puts the figure at 100,000,000 which the country is capable of supporting. Yet we every day hear from public men of distinction who ought to know better that Ireland only requires the further depletion of her population by a million or two to secure her prosperity. Sir Walter Scott,

who made two tours in the country, writing to Joanna Baillie in October 1825, predicts of Ireland that :—

“Despite all the disadvantages which have hitherto retarded her progress, she will yet be the queen of the trefoil of kingdoms. . . . I never saw a richer country, or, to speak my mind, a finer people.”

Macaulay, in one of his Parliamentary speeches (1844), said :—

“Ireland is superior, probably, in internal fruitfulness to any area of equal size in Europe, and possessed of a position which holds out the greatest facilities for commerce, at least equal to any other country of the same extent in the world.”

Yet one more literary celebrity, Thackeray, has spoken of Ireland, during a tour there, as—“This fairest and richest of countries.” And the late Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C., a man of extensive knowledge, who studied the land question in various European countries, wrote of Ireland from a commercial standpoint as follows, in Volume I. of his *Social Condition of the People* :—

“Let us endeavour to describe the present state of Ireland in as few words as possible. Ireland is splendidly situated, in a commercial point of view, commanding the direct route between northern Europe and America, with some of the finest harbours in the world. Its soil is proverbially rich and fruitful; and has won for it throughout the world the appellation of the ‘Emerald Isle.’ Its rivers are numerous, large, and well adapted for internal commerce.”

Earl Grey, speaking in the House of Lords on the 23rd of March 1840, also dwelt upon the splendid sources of wealth contained in Ireland :—

“Ireland has been gifted by Providence with a soil of surpassing fertility, with great mineral wealth, with a climate mild and genial. In her large extent of coasts and numerous harbours—her great natural facilities for internal navigation—in her command of water power, she has great natural resources, and every requisite for commercial greatness. The natural resources of Ireland are not only great, but unusually great.”

Mr. Bright, too, has spoken the language of sobriety and truth in regard to the fertility of Ireland and the industry of its inhabitants. In Dublin, on the 2nd of November 1866, he said, as he is reported in the first volume of his *Speeches* :—

“Years ago, when I have thought of the condition of Ireland, of its sorrows and wrongs, of the discredit that its condition has brought upon the English, the Irish, and the British name; I have thought, if I could be in all other things the same, but by birth an Irishman, there is not a town in this island I would not visit for the purpose of discussing the great Irish question, and of rousing my countrymen to some great and united action. I do not believe in the necessity of wide-spread and perpetual misery. I do not believe that we are placed on this island, and on this earth, that one man may be great and wealthy, and revel in every profuse indulgence, and five, six, nine, or ten men shall suffer the abject misery which we see so commonly in the world. With your soil, your climate, and your active and spirited race, I know not what you might not do. There have been reasons, to my mind, why soil and climate, and the labour of your population, have not produced general comfort and competence for all.”

The observations which occur in the next chapter in regard to Mr. Bright were written before his lamented death. But as they do not conflict with the respect due to his memory, though questioning the justice of some of his more recent speeches and letters in reference to Ireland, they are allowed to stand. His services at a period when to advocate Ireland's cause was an unpopular undertaking should not be forgotten—and are, indeed, never forgotten, even when it requires no little patience to revert to the memory of the past. Next to those of Mr. Gladstone, John Bright's earlier speeches in regard to Ireland still afford the most comprehensive as well as the most eloquent exposition of her multiform grievances. Nor do they suffer any appreciable injury even when put in contrast with those latter-day utterances of his, when failing health rendered him irritable, and impatient of contradiction.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDEFATIGABLE INDUSTRY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE AT HOME AND ABROAD.

"Of all the vulgar shifts to evade the study of social and moral influences upon the soul of man, the most vulgar is to attribute differences of conduct and character to indestructible national differences. What race is there that would not be indolent and thoughtless if things were so arranged for it that it can have nothing to gain by being prudent and laborious?"—JOHN STUART MILL.

THE charge of laziness made against the Irish dates from the very beginning of the eighteenth century, if not before. It has been a convenient popular tradition sedulously cultivated by the Irish landlords, to explain away the evil results of their own rapacity and oppression for two centuries. And, sad to say, for a moiety of the time at least, it has been commonly accepted by a considerable portion of the periodical press of this country as one of those economic truths which there is no denying. Whatever guilt attaches to the cruel slander has long been deservedly laid at the door of the Irish landlords by enlightened Englishmen ; and it is to be hoped that this humble attempt, however imperfect, to dissipate it, once for all, will be welcomed by honourable minds generally. The testimony in disproof of the slander shall be submitted from competent English (or Scotch) authorities of eminence almost exclusively, and of such a character as will commend it to the judgment of impartial men.

In the course of a letter addressed to the *Daily News* of the 10th of October 1887, Mr. S. Laing, ex-M.P. for Orkney, who was formerly Secretary to the Treasury, and Finance Minister of India, charges it upon the head of Mr. Bright

that he has latterly upheld the theory "that the misery of the Irish people is owing to their incorrigible laziness;" and, at the same time, Mr. Laing imputes to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain an equally unfounded theory in regard to the alleged ability of the Irish tenants to pay their rents. As to Mr. Chamberlain's opinions on Irish subjects, whether economical, political, or polemical, they are no longer of any particular account, and therefore require no extensive discussion here. But we are all inclined to be jealous of Mr. Bright's good name, even though he has been a little out of temper with his old friends, and former principles, of late. If he has really laid himself open to Mr. Laing's charge, then he is undoubtedly in direct conflict with his former self respecting the virtues of the Irish people, as may be seen by a glance at his speeches in the House of Commons, Dublin, and Limerick, in 1866 and 1868 respectively, from which an extract appears in the preceding and present chapter. And he is also in direct conflict with the testimony of one whose name and opinions he is known to hold in equal reverence, viz., Richard Cobden, from whose political writings also an appropriate extract on the subject will be found, later on, in the course of the present chapter.

Sir John Davis, in his *Discoverie* (1612), throws a flood of light on the system of land tenure in existence in Ireland in his day, which simply took away every incentive to industry and honest labour:—

"The extortion of coin and livery produced two notorious effects," he says, "first it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle; for when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night consumed the fruits of all his labour—*longique perit labor irritus anni*. . . . And here—upon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects; and such as remained became idle and lookers-on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times: so as their extreme extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in foreign countries, than to manure their fruitful land at home. . . . For, who would plant or improve, or

“build upon that Land, which a stranger whom he knew not
 “should possess after his death? For that (as Salomon noteth)
 “is one of the strangest Vanities under the Sunne.”

Sir William Petty (seventeenth century), the ancestor of the present Marquis of Lansdowne, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, attributes the Irish “lazing” to “want of employment
 “and encouragement to work.” He asks:—

“Why should they breed more cattel, since ’tis penal to
 “import them into England? . . . And how should merchants
 “have stock, since trade is prohibited and fettered by the
 “Statutes of England? And why should men endeavour to get
 “estates, . . . where tricks and words destroy natural rights
 “and property?”

“Ye are idle! Ye are idle!” was the rebuke addressed to the Israelites by Pharaoh—no bad prototype of the typical Irish landlord—when they complained to his majesty that they were expected to make bricks without straw. We are, observes Swift:—

“Apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom
 “find them employed; but then we don’t consider they have
 “nothing to do. Sir William Temple, in his excellent remarks
 “on the United Provinces, inquires why Holland, which has
 “the fewest and worst ports and commodities of any nation in
 “Europe, should abound in trade; and Ireland, which has the
 “most and best of both, should have none? . . . The want
 “of trade with us,” continues Swift, “is rather owing to the
 “cruel restraints we lie under, than to any disqualification
 “whatsoever in our inhabitants.”

Speaking of the industry of those Irish peasants who have security for the fruits of their labour, Arthur Young writes emphatically thus:—

“Their industry has no bounds, nor is the day long enough
 “for the revolution of their incessant labour.” And of the
 “little occupiers,” *i.e.*, small farmers, who have like security,—
 “It is from the whole evident that they are uncommon masters
 “of the art of overcoming difficulties by patience and contriv-
 “ance. . . . Give the farmer of twenty acres in England no

“more capital than his brother in Ireland, and I will venture to say he will be much poorer, *for he would be utterly unable to go on at all.*”

Sir Walter Scott, writing to Miss Edgeworth, from Edinburgh, on the 4th of February 1829 (*Life*), says that:—

“The great number of the lower Irish which have come over here since the peace, accommodates Scotland with a race of hardy and indefatigable labourers, without which it would be impossible to carry on the very expensive improvements which have been executed. Our canals, our railroads, and our various public works are all wrought by Irish. I have often employed them myself at burning clay, and similar operations, and have found them as labourers quiet and tractable, light-spirited, too, and happy to a degree beyond belief, and in no degree quarrelsome.”

Mr. Poulett-Scrope, formerly M.P. for Stroud, in *How Ireland is Governed* (1834), observes:—

“Give him [the Irishman] a motive for industry, and the opportunity of exerting it, and neither Englishman nor Scotchman will surpass him in close and patient toil, frugality, and providence. Mr. Nimmo (and no one could be more competent to judge of the fact) asserts this as the result of his long experience as an engineer, in the employment of the labourers of the three countries [England, Ireland, and Scotland]. He inclines, indeed, to give the preference to the Irish labourer.”

The next witness to testify to the character of the Irish for industry is Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C. The following is but a short passage from an elaborate eulogium on the subject in the *Social Condition of the People*:—

“The Irish are, physically and intellectually considered, one of the most active and restless [races] in the world. In every colony of our empire and among the motley multitude of the United States the Irish are distinguished by their energy, their industry, and their success. They make as good soldiers, colonists, and railway constructors as any other people. They are industrious and successful everywhere but in Ireland.”

Richard Cobden, another competent judge as to the industrial

merits of a people, in his *Political Writings*, deals with the question concisely, thus:—

“The Irish are the hardiest labourers on earth; the docks and canals of England, and the railroads of America, are the produce of their toil; in short, they are the hewers of wood and drawers of water for other nations.”

Drummond (a Scotchman), the famous Under-Secretary for Ireland, who understood the Irish people thoroughly, literally died in their service, in 1840, and has since been mourned by two generations of Celts, has said, according to his *Memoirs* by M'Lennan:—

“In a state of destitution no race of people are more patient and resigned. . . . Yet the same race who endure the last extremes of want without a murmur, are no sooner placed in a condition of supporting themselves by independent industry, than they cast aside the torpor which distinguishes them in a depressed state, and become active, diligent, and laborious. . . . And it ought to be mentioned to their honour, that in such emergencies [of destitution] they have scarcely ever been known to extort, by violence, that relief which cannot be obtained from their own lawful exertions, or the benevolence of others, . . . even when sometimes exposed to all the miseries of famine, rendered tenfold more agonising by the knowledge that there was food enough and to spare within a few miles.”

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 25th of January 1846, Lord John Russell, when urging the necessity for some permanent alteration in the land laws, laid it down in the most emphatic language that the miseries of Ireland were due neither to the character of the soil nor to any want of industry in its cultivators. He said:—

“There is no doubt of the fertility of the land; that fertility has been the theme of admiration with writers and travellers of all nations. There is no doubt either, I must say, of the strength and industry of the inhabitants. The man who is loitering idly by the mountain-side in Tipperary or in Derry [where he has nothing to do], whose potato-plot has furnished him merely with occupation for a few days in the year, whose

“wages and whose pig have enabled him to pay his rent and eke out afterwards a miserable subsistence—that man, I say, may have a brother in Liverpool, or Glasgow, or London, who by the sweat of his brow, from morning to night, is competing with the strongest and steadiest labourers of England and Scotland, and is earning wages equal to any of them. I do not, therefore, think that either the fertility of the soil of Ireland, or the strength and industry of its inhabitants, is at fault.”

Lord Grey, like Sir Walter Scott, gave testimony from his personal knowledge of Irish labourers in the House of Lords about the same time as follows:—

“In the county with which I am connected [Northumberland] we have been in the habit of seeing every year large numbers of Irishmen come over as reapers during harvest, many of them from Donegal and other districts, where the greatest wretchedness and misery prevail. What is the character of those men? We have always found them grateful beyond measure for good treatment; tractable, industrious, cheerful, and gay—in some respects, no doubt, thoughtless and easily excited, but, on the other hand, exhibiting, upon the whole, a degree of prudence and forethought not often seen in men of their rank in life and amount of education. Living in the most economical manner when in work, and saving their hard earnings in order that they may pay their rents when they got home—this is the character of the people of Ireland, in England; and I say with such a people and such a country, is it not clear that the fault must be with their rulers if lawlessness and wretchedness prevail amongst them? I cannot doubt it to be so.”

Thornton, in his *Plea for Peasant Proprietors* (1848), says of the Irish:—

“They are indolent, because they have no inducement to work after they have obtained from their labour wherewithal to pay their rent, and to save themselves from starvation. Whatever additional produce they might raise, would only subject them to further exactions [at the hands of their landlords]. . . . They are reduced to the verge of destitution, because they are permitted to retain no more of the fruits of their labour than will barely suffice for their subsistence.”

An enraged political economist in petticoats, speaking at a

Unionist meeting at Nottingham, on the 26th of September last, under the combined patronage of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., and the Duke of St. Albans, made a coarse, abusive attack on the unfortunate Irish, because, as she alleged, of their wanting "more industry," &c. Miss Harriet Martineau, a lady of much greater distinction in the world of politics than Mr. Chamberlain's unfair supporter, in her *Letters from Ireland* (1852), held a somewhat different opinion on the subject :—

"Three things are very striking to us under this head [of "Irish industry]," observes Miss Martineau, "the heartiness of the labour where men are well paid—the languor of the people where people are ill paid—and the toil that people will undergo, under the stimulus of hope, even where the gains are very small. We have seen Irishmen working, with every muscle and every faculty, in an establishment where the work must be well done, where every man is paid according to his merits. . . . We have learned that in the neighbourhood of Dublin women will walk five Irish miles [equal to seven English] for fruit, and walk all the rest of the day to bring it back and sell it, and be well pleased if they get a shilling a day—satisfied if they get sixpence. There seems to be no room for a theory of constitutional indolence here."

The reader will recollect that it was an object of Buckle, the indefatigable author of the *History of Civilisation*, to show that the character of a people is more or less dependent on material circumstances. Writing in regard to the time-honoured but unfounded tradition of laziness amongst the Irish, he says, in Volume I. of his great work :—

[That the condition of the English working-classes] "is one of sumptuous splendour, compared with that in which only a few years ago [alas ! it is yet so] the Irish were forced to live. The misery in which they were plunged has no doubt always been aggravated by the ignorance of their rulers, and by that scandalous misgovernment which until very recently [should have said "still," writing in 1857], formed one of the darkest blots on the glory of England. Inglis, who, in 1834, travelled through Ireland with a particular view to its economical state, says, as the result of very careful inquiries, 'I am quite con-

“fident that if the whole yearly earnings of the labourers of Ireland were divided by the whole number of labourers, the result would be under fourpence a day for the labourers of Ireland!’ If these things were oftener considered,” continues Buckle, “we should not hear so much about the idleness and levity of the Celtic race; the simple fact being that the Irish are unwilling to work, not because they are Celts, but because their work is badly paid. When they go abroad they get good wages, and therefore they become as industrious as any other people. Even in 1799 it was observed that the Irish, as soon as they left their own country, became industrious and energetic.”

The next witness to the industrial character of the Irish people was a popular Anglo-Irish statesman, John Temple, Viscount Palmerston. Speaking in the House of Commons, on the 27th of February 1865, Lord Palmerston said, with a touch of genuine sincerity, as though some feeling of compunction, in regard to his own neglectful treatment of his country in the past, haunted him for the moment:—

“It is impossible for any man to know anything of the Irish people without wishing them every happiness which can be conferred upon them. They are a light-hearted and a warm-hearted race; they are most industrious too, wherever they can see the prospect that by industry they will get the reward to which industry entitles men. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Irish are an idle race, unwilling to labour, and not prepared to make great exertions for the sake of accomplishing any legitimate object.”

Now for Mr. Bright, who held an exalted opinion of the Irish, in all their moods, twenty years ago. Why has he altered that opinion? Is there any reason why he should have done so, except that he was mildly reproached with deserting his first love, by Mr. Sexton and other Irish members of Parliament, some time back? Speaking in the House of Commons on the 17th of February 1866, Mr. Bright enlarged upon the virtues of the Irish people in the following manner:—

“An hon. member from Ireland a few nights ago referred to the character of the Irish people. He said, and I believe

“it is true, that there is no Christian nation with which we are acquainted among the people of which crime of the ordinary character, as we reckon it in this country, is so rare as it is among his countrymen. He might have said also, that there is no people, whatever they may be at home, more industrious than the Irish in every country but their own. He might have said more, that they are a people of a cheerful and joyous temperament, that they are singularly grateful for kindnesses shown to them, and that of all people of our race they are filled with the strongest sentiment of veneration. And yet, with such materials, and with such a people, after centuries of government—after sixty-five years of government by this House—you have them embittered against your rule, and anxious only to throw off the authority of the Crown and Queen of these realms. This is merely an access of the complaint Ireland has been suffering under during the lifetime of the oldest man in this House, that of chronic insurrection.”

The late Colonel King-Harman, M.P., was, like many other Irish landlords, “the victim of circumstances.” It is probable, if his ancestors had been more reluctant to “blister” the family estate with heavy mortgages, he would have been found fighting in the Nationalist ranks in 1888. Anyhow, he was not found traducing the character of his countrymen a few years back. On the contrary, we find him writing to the *Times*, during the distressed period of 1879-80, as follows :—

“There is, no doubt, a certain amount of imposition and of seeking after unearned food, instead of honest work, among a few of the idle and worthless, who must always be found in any community, and who will be found in Ireland, as elsewhere. As a rule, however, I say boldly that our people in the West are making a brave fight, and are generally found asking for work, and not clamouring for charity. I could tell of instances of families who are getting relief meal, at the rate of half-a-pound per head per diem, helping their neighbours. Is this demoralisation?”

Pray, listen to what witnesses so competent as the members of the recent Cowper Royal Commission, one of the last of an interminable series of Commissions, have to say regarding the character of the Irish people :—“The Irish people are naturally

“honest, hard-working, and deeply attached to their native land, and all these causes will tend to make them, when invested with ownership, good citizens and loyal subjects.”

Mr. S. Laing, already quoted, writing to the *Daily News*, on the 10th of October 1887, observes :—

“In going round Bodyke the exclamation burst from me,—“Oh! that John Bright and Mr. Chamberlain were by my side!” The theory of the former is that the misery of the Irish people is owing to their incorrigible laziness; that of the latter that the bulk of the tenantry are able and anxious to pay their rents, and only prevented from doing so by the terrorism of a handful of agitators. If Mr. Bright could see the network of huge walls enclosing little patches of fields, every stone of which represents hard navvy labour in clearing the barren wilderness; and the plots which have been reclaimed by the toil and moil of the poor occupiers in delving, draining, and liming; and this in the face of the utmost possible discouragement *by having their rents raised on them as fast as they improved*; or if he would inquire where, if those poor fellows were willing to work, they could get a day’s work at a shilling a day, I think he would soon modify his theory of Irish laziness.”

Sir Henry A. Blake, ex-Governor of Newfoundland, writes to the *Times* of the 29th of November 1888, as follows :—

“As I find in the remarks upon the opposition to my late appointment as Governor of Queensland an assumption that in all parts of the world the Irish population will oppose any Governor who has served the Imperial Government in Ireland, perhaps you will allow me to say that a large proportion of the population of Newfoundland are Irishmen, who show an example of energy and agricultural industry, and are among the most successful of the inhabitants, whether in the professions, in business, trade, or agriculture, and that among my fellow-countrymen I have always found the most hearty loyalty to our beloved Queen, and an attitude of warm friendship towards her Majesty’s representative.”

Dr. Selwyn, the deceased Bishop of Lichfield, formerly of New Zealand, might be imagined looking over the shoulders of the Cowper Commissioners when they were drafting their Report.

In his speech on the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill, in the House of Lords, twenty years ago, that eminent ecclesiastic said :—

“In New Zealand, Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen live together upon the best terms. The qualities of each particular class become blended with each other to the improvement of all. No dissension as to tenant right can arise, because every tenant has the right of purchasing the land he holds at a fixed price. Under these circumstances the tenants, instead of being lazy and drunken, strain every nerve in order to save the money which will enable them to become the proprietors of the land they occupy. In this way it happens that the most irregular people of the Irish race become steady and industrious, acquiring property, and losing all their wandering habits, until it becomes almost impossible to distinguish between the comparative value of the character of Irish and Scotch elements. Of their loyalty to the Crown, I can speak from my own observation, for the only regiment that is employed in keeping order in New Zealand is her Majesty's Royal Irish.”

With reference to the more strictly commercial aspects of the Irish industrial question, there are two witnesses who furnish some interesting facts. Mr. J. T. Brunner, M.P. for Northwich, is the head of a very extensive manufacturing concern in Cheshire. In 1888 he wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* as follows, when correcting a misinterpretation which was put upon a sentence in a recent speech of his :—

“The people of Ireland are very honest people, and few men know it better than I, for I have been concerned in selling to them for twenty-six years, and the bad debts during that time on that business amount to less than a tenth part of a farthing in the pound. It is one of my arguments in favour of Home Rule that the Irish people are so honest. Let them have freedom, and they will not rob anybody. For the rest I shall not cease to protest against landlords robbing their tenants' creditors, as well as their tenants, either in Ireland or in Great Britain, until the iniquitous landlord-made law is amended in all the three kingdoms.”

Again, Messrs. Sennet Brothers, of Blackfriars, London, wrote to the *Star* of the 22nd of January 1888, as follows:—

“We have lately heard and read that employers in London and elsewhere have decided, either from political or religious causes, not to employ Irish labour. We wish to bring to your notice a few facts on behalf of the Irish working class. For over a century our firm has employed from 300 to 400 workpeople, 95 per cent. of whom are of pure Irish extraction. During all our experience we have never had any cause for complaint. We have never had a case of theft, an occasion to call a constable into our factory, or a case of insubordination where we might have had to trouble a magistrate. We have always found the Irish obedient, industrious, and kindly disposed towards their fellow-workpeople when in trouble.”

Lord Dufferin, ex-Governor-General of India, in his *Irish Emigration*, states that between 1848 and 1864 the Irish emigrants in America—“to their immortal honour, within seventeen years after their departure, had sent back to Ireland upwards of £13,000,000.” And Serjeant Heron, Q.C., in 1862, in a paper read before the Statistical Society of Dublin, said:—

“A sum equal to one-fourteenth of the rental of Ireland is annually received from foreign charitable persons [American Irish]. . . . In 1852 Ireland received a larger sum in charity from America than was realised by the profits of the trade of exporting horned cattle to England.”

So that the Irish not only work and grow wealthy in the United States and the Colonies, but they earn and lay by enough to enable them to send home annually large sums to their parents and friends left behind in Ireland. Indeed we have no record of any other people exhibiting such manifest proofs of industry and filial affection at one and the same time. The late Mr. W. E. Forster, speaking in the House of Commons, August 13, 1880, when he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, made the following observations in regard to this characteristic, which are well worth reproducing here:—

“There was one point in which the Irish labourers or small

“tenants compared favourably with the English labourers. If “some of their actions were brought before us in a way that “tried our patience and made us indignant, it was well to “recollect the way in which Irish labourers helped their neighbours and the members of their own families. The enormous “sums lately sent over from Irishmen in America to their “families were a wonderful tribute to the Irish character. “And when the Irish labourers came to England to earn the “wages with which they paid their rent, it would be difficult “to find English labourers in similar circumstances who would “send home their money without leaving a considerable portion “of it in the public-houses of the district.”

Even in times of distress, when the exiled Irish in America send over large sums to their friends at home, most of it goes into the landlords' pockets to pay the rent. Indeed, the latter fact is so much a matter of public notoriety that a well-known philanthropist, Mr. Vere Foster, made a public appeal for funds for emigration purposes, in a letter addressed to the *Times*, on the 4th of October 1886, in which the following significant passage occurs:—

“Though Irish landlords have suffered great diminution of “income, I feel justified in making a special appeal to them, “because a large portion of the rents of their poorer tenants is “usually paid by means of remittances from America; these “remittances being generally sent home by Irish girls for that “purpose.”

Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Second Visit to the United States*, vol. i. (1849), says that the rich American capitalists:—

“Speak with kindness of the Irish, saying they are most “willing to work hard, keep their temperance vows, and, in spite “of the considerable sums drawn from them by the Catholic “priests [their church not being there endowed by the State], are “putting largely out of their earnings into the savings banks. “It is also agreed that they are most generous to their poor “relations in Ireland, remitting money to them annually, and “sometimes enough to enable them to pay their passage across “the Atlantic.”

In an article on American Land Tenure in the *Cobden Club*

Essays (1881), from the pen of Mr. C. M. Fisher, the following passage appropriate to the subject occurs :—

“In America, industry and hard work, when directed to the cultivation of land, offer greater rewards than in Ireland ; and this fact appears to have a marked effect upon many an Irish emigrant. . . . I could point to many instances in the State of Vermont, and in others, where a comparatively ignorant and penniless Irish emigrant had, almost immediately after arrival, arranged for the purchase, on time, of a lot of land ; then worked as a labourer until he had got together a few dollars to purchase implements, seed, and a little food ; the latter in the shape of a barrel of flour, some salt pork, tea, &c., forming sufficient for one season ; and who had, without any other aid, managed to struggle on until a succession of harvests found him a rich man in comparison with his former condition. . . . I believe it to be the first great ambition of every Irish emigrant to become the owner of real estate.”

Lastly, the late Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, another competent witness, having, in October 1886, been asked at an interview by a press representative in London—“Do you find the Irish in America to make good citizens?”—he replied :—

“They do, indeed, after they have been taught, make most useful citizens, and have a very large share in the government of the country. They are judges, and are distinguished in all professions and businesses. They are most industrious, hard-working, and thrifty, and they have rendered good service to the State. I addressed a meeting where there were 600 Irishmen celebrating St. Patrick’s Day, not one of whom had come out to America with money, and yet they were all men who had amassed large fortunes by their own energy and industry. The Irish in New York invest their savings first in one brick house and then in another. In some districts,” he added, “the school boards have passed out of the hands of the old Yankee farmers into the hands of the Irish labourers ; and they have better schools now than when the stingy old farmers had the care of them.”

It may be said, in conclusion, that the testimony in favour of the indefatigable industry of the Irish people might be extended almost indefinitely, if there existed any occasion to trouble the reader with further proofs on the subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAND TENURE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND— A DISTINCTION WITH A DIFFERENCE.

"The difference is so material as to render any analogy that may be 'drawn a very imperfect and fallacious mode of reasoning.'—BINNS' *Ireland*.

HARDLY anything belonging to the Irish agrarian question is so little understood in England and Scotland as the precise nature of the relations of the landlord with the tenant. We often hear, for instance, of outrages being committed on persons who take land from which others have been evicted; and it is natural that Englishmen, seeing that similar effects do not follow from similar causes in this country, should be inclined to consider a case clearly made out against the Irish. In fact, you will often hear even persons of education ask dogmatically why the Irishman does not at once surrender his house on finding himself unable to pay his rent, just as a London citizen does, without imposing upon the landlord the necessity of battering down or setting fire to the premises. Now such inferences as these are wholly and altogether wrong—fundamentally wrong—as the following authorities will clearly show.

One of the main elements of the tenant's case in Ireland, one of the things which distinguish his case from that of the tenant in England, and one of the considerations that compelled the framers of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 virtually to constitute him a part owner with the landlord, is the fact that, as a rule, *he alone has made the improvements on the land*. Moreover, it is he, the tenant, *who has built the house*. The Devon Parliamentary Commission of 1845, in the second volume of

their *Digest*, explain this difference in the tenure of land in Great Britain and Ireland as follows:—

“It is well known that in England and Scotland, before a landlord offers a farm for letting, he finds it necessary to provide a suitable farm-house, with necessary farm-buildings, for the proper management of the farm. He puts the gates and fences into good order, and he takes upon himself a great part of the burden of keeping the buildings in repair during the term; and the rent is fixed with reference to this state of things. Such, at least, is generally the case, although special contracts may occasionally be made, varying the arrangement between landlord and tenant. In Ireland the case is wholly different. . . . In most cases [there] whatever is done in the way of building or fencing is done by the tenant; and, in the ordinary language of the country, dwelling-houses, farm-buildings, and even the making of fences, are described by the general word ‘improvements,’ which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts, without which, in England or in Scotland, no tenant would be found to rent it.”

There have also been Royal Commissions of Inquiry into the Irish Land Question during the present decade. One of these, the Bessborough Commission, reported, by a majority of its members, as follows:—

“It is not denied by any one that in Ireland it has been the general rule for tenants to do more, at all events, than the mere agricultural operations necessary to insure them such a profit as could be realised within the time which constituted the legal term of their tenancies; and this of itself is enough to establish in their favour a presumption that they were morally entitled to a larger interest in their holdings than was ever recognised by law.”

And Mr. Kavanagh, ex-Tory M.P. for Carlow, who may be fairly considered the representative on the Commission of the Irish landlords, was even more explicit. He wrote in a separate report:—

“The assertion, which is, I believe, a fact, that on the majority of holdings, the improvements, if such they can be called, if not altogether, have been chiefly made by the tenants.”

The Duke of Richmond's Commission reported in 1881 :—

“ It seems to be generally admitted that the most conspicuous difference between the relations of landlord and tenant as they exist in Ireland, and in England and Scotland, is the extent to which in Ireland houses are erected, and improvements are made by the tenant, and not by the landlord.”

Again, Lord Carlingford, formerly Chief-Secretary for Ireland, who drew up the minority report of that Commission, wrote of :—

“ A country like Ireland, where the dwelling-houses, farm-buildings, and other elements of a farm, including often the reclamation from the waste of the cultivated land itself, have been, and must, in our opinion, continue to be, for the most part, the work of the tenants.”

It may be added that Section V. of the Land Act of 1870 declares the presumption to be that all improvements, except as therein provided, have been made by the tenant, so that the legislature has already, in fact, admitted the justice of the tenants' contention on this most important and material point. Further, the Act of 1881 incontestably puts the tenant in the position of part owner of his farm upon the same grounds. And although most persons would consider the foregoing authorities sufficient to establish the fact of there being a fundamental difference in the systems of land tenure in England and Ireland, one or two individual opinions of competent persons may not prove an unwelcome addition on the subject. For instance, there was an Irish Tory Chief Justice, Baron Pennefather, who, in his charge to a jury in an ejectment case, Hilary Term, 1843, observed :—

“ The whole code relating to landlord and tenant in this country [Ireland] was framed with a view to the interests of the landlords alone, to enforce the payment of rent by the tenants. The interests of the tenants never entered into the contemplation of the legislature. . . . The legislation on this subject is a progressive code, giving in each successive act additional remedies to the landlord.”

There was a speech made in 1869 by Lord Clarendon, who held the position of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland throughout the

troubled insurrectionary period of 1848, which is highly instructive; not so much for what it says—though this is important enough—as for what it omits to say. Speaking at the West Herts Agricultural Society's meeting on the 27th of September in that year, he said, according to a *Times* report of his speech:—

“I have now the honour of addressing practical men, and I would ask any gentleman here present if he were to take a farm at will, on which the landlord never did and never intended to do anything; then suppose that he were to build upon that farm a house and homestead, erected fences on and drained it, and was then turned out at a six months' notice by the landlord, who took to himself the whole benefit of the tenant's labour and expenditure—I ask if there could be language strong enough in this country, in these meetings that are now being held, and in the press, to condemn the felonious act of such a landlord as that?”

Now this is all very good, coming from Lord Clarendon—excellent in fact. But pray listen to the following comment upon it by a gentleman specially employed by the *Times* to report upon the Irish land question in the same year—Mr. O'Connor Morris, now a Chairman of Quarter Sessions in Ireland:—

“A distinguished minister,” Mr. Morris observes, in his *Letters*, “has lately branded such acts with a remarkable epithet, and has asked, What is to be said of those who commit them? Lord Clarendon must excuse me for saying, whatever may be thought of this matter, this spoliation was in no sense ‘felonious.’ Law enabled that landlord to evict that tenant; law armed the sheriff with the writ of execution; law possibly was found to send the police to assist at that scene of righteous justice; law warranted that equitable confiscation; law looked on while that broken man was expatriated after a sanctioned robbery. It is putting the question on a wrong issue to lay the blame on any individual person; it is the law, in this instance, that connived at felony.”

Lord Clarendon was a distinguished man, and doubtless was trying to discharge his duty, when in Ireland, to the best of his ability. Even in the midst of the great famine, Parliament would do nothing towards amending the laws which had

created it. Once more patriotic men loudly and indignantly raised their voices in Ireland to denounce such systematic misgovernment. Lord Clarendon, then Lord-Lieutenant (1847-52), having no moral resources in the country upon which he could rely, was driven to the humiliating expedient, afterwards exposed by a trial in which he was virtually the defendant, of suborning one or two Dublin newspapers for the purpose of stigmatising those men as treason-mongers. They were all men of high character, some of them members of Parliament, who strove by constitutional and afterwards by unconstitutional means—when the constitution was, as it is now, suspended—to overthrow, *inter alia*, this very system of legalised robbery of the poor peasants. Juries were shamelessly packed with their avowed enemies, to the ruthless exclusion of every man, Catholic and Protestant, who was suspected of harbouring within his bosom the faintest national spirit; so as to ensure convictions involving the penalty of death. All the officials of the Crown, together with the judges, were notorious partizans, whose conduct had probably been arraigned in Parliament more than once. In the case of the trial of O'Connell and his fellow-prisoners only a few years before (1844), Lord John Russell openly impugned, in Parliament, the constitution of the jury, and referred to the evidence of the Irish Master of the Rolls before the House of Lords, wherein it was stated, as the result of many years' experience, that it was the general practice of the Crown in criminal cases, *as it is still*, to set aside all Catholics and all Liberal Protestants, including even Quakers, from the Irish jury-box. But this was only when he, Lord John, was in opposition. He is now, in 1848-9, Prime Minister, which makes all the difference. Well might each one of those unhappy Irish prisoners, in the circumstances exclaim, in the pathetic words of Algernon Sidney, spoken from the dock, when he protested against the judgment of the infamous Jefferies:—"My Lord, I humbly conceive I have had no trial. I was to be tried by my country. "I did not find my country in the jury that tried me."

And in this manner it was that the voice of humanity was once more stifled in Ireland.

CHAPTER IX.

IS THERE FREEDOM OF CONTRACT BETWEEN LANDLORD AND TENANT IN IRELAND?

"This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood."

—*Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1.

MANY well-disposed persons have been misled by Lord Salisbury's reckless *dictum*—"Take your choice; you have freedom of contract; pay or go." To accuse the Prime Minister of deliberate misstatement would be highly unbecoming, and yet to charge him with ignorance would be offering one in his position almost as great an insult. But all the same it is impossible to avoid saying that his assertion is founded upon fiction, without a single element of truth to support it. Here is the proof, taken from the report addressed to Parliament by a recent Royal Commission, of which a great Irish proprietor, Lord Bessborough, was chairman:—

"We grant that it would be inexpedient to interfere with freedom of contract between landlord and tenant, if freedom of contract really existed; but freedom of contract, in the case of the majority of Irish tenants, large and small, does not really exist."

Although, perhaps, not all public speakers and writers are conscious of it, as a matter of fact there is a great deal of cant in the too common preaching of the sacredness of what is termed "contract" in land, and the necessity of maintaining it in Ireland. Speaking generally, there is really no such thing known in Ireland as freedom of contract in land, and consequently no such thing as a real contract between the great majority of Irish tenants and their landlords. The fact has

been expressly acknowledged in the reports of recent Royal Commissions, having the most notable English and Irish land-owners amongst their members. Take this additional declaration of the Bessborough Commission as an example :—

“When the rent is raised the tenant must, as a rule, submit. “The evidence shows that under a system of gradual small increases of rent tenants have submitted long past the point at which they consider themselves to be unfairly rented. . . . “Not to come to terms with his landlord means for him (the tenant) to leave his home, to leave his employment, to forfeit the inheritance of his fathers, and, to some extent, the investment of his toil, and to sink at once to a lower plane of physical comfort and social rank. It is no matter to him of the chaffer of the market, but almost of life and death. The farmer bargains with his landlord under sentence of losing his living, if the bargain goes off.”

Again, there is a statement of Lord Carlingford in his supplementary report as a member of the Richmond Royal Commission, appointed by a Tory Government :—

“We believe,” he said, “that even the large farmers are sometimes constrained to submit to very onerous and discouraging conditions, increasing the rent unduly, or contracting them out of the Land Act; while the smaller tenant will endure almost anything, or promise to pay almost any rent demanded, in order to avert or postpone the loss of his holding or home. . . . Without referring to the present deplorable condition of many parts of Ireland, we are convinced that, in ordinary times, freedom of contract cannot be said to exist between the majority of Irish occupying tenants and their landlords.”

A few individual opinions on the subject will not be without interest. The *Times*, of the 7th December 1842, deals with the question of alleged freedom of contract in Ireland thus :—

“A landlord is not a tradesman; he stands to his tenantry, or he ought to do so, in *loco parentis*; he is there as well for their good as his own; they are not mere contractors with him to hold his land as capital, and pay him the full interest, or incur a forfeiture; they are rather agents placed in his hands,

“and under his care and protection, for the purpose of working the land, and whose natural relation with him cannot be determined except by negligence or ill conduct. If the land be treated as money, and the tenantry as borrowers, people may be sure that the landlord will be an usurer. This is generally true; but in Ireland the tenant, who is thus treated as though he had been an unfettered party to the original agreement, has not the shadow of the character of a voluntary contractor. It is with him either to continue in the quarter of an acre which he occupies or to starve. There is no other alternative. Rackrent may be misery, but ejection is ruin. . . . What has been the result? Conspiracy, hatred, revenge, and murder—most cold-blooded, most brutal murder.”

Mr. Nassau Senior, in the second volume of his *Journals*, observes as follows in confirmation of this view:—

“The treaty between landlord and tenant [in Ireland] is not a calm bargain in which the tenant, having offered what he thinks the land worth to him, cares little whether his offer be accepted or not; it is a struggle like the struggle to buy bread in a besieged town, or to buy water in an African caravan. . . . The landlords are unable or unwilling to expend money on their estates. They allow the tenants themselves to make the provision by building and reclaiming land from its original state of bog or heather, or stony field. It is thus that many estates have been created; and almost all have been enlarged by generation after generation of tenants without assistance. It was the tenants who made the Barony of Farney—originally worth £3000—worth £50,000 a year.”

Mr. Senior might have added, they were very badly used for their pains subsequently. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1880, in the course of a debate on the Disturbance Bill, Mr. W. E. Forster, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, made the following cogent observations on the subject:—

“What is this law of ejection [in Ireland]? It has been proved that it is a special Irish law, giving special powers to the Irish landlord, not to recover rent, but to recover land if the rent be not paid. We must remember that we cannot always for contract debts seize what we find in a man’s house [in England]. You cannot seize instruments of trade, and, to some extent, land is the instrument of these [Irish] people’s

"trade. And yet those who administer the law [*i.e.*, the "Government"] are not allowed to leave the law to itself, but "are to back it with all the force we have at our disposal, when "it cannot be denied that in the vast majority of cases the "non-payment of rent arises from inability to pay, and that "inability arises from the bad harvests."

Finally, Professor Thorold Rogers, who should be an authority on the subject of contracts, in vol. v. of his *Agriculture and Prices*, says :—

"To enforce contracts is undoubtedly the first duty of society "and law. But the duty is conditioned by an obligation which "is frequently lost sight of by interested partisans. The state "is not only justified in determining, but is bound to determine . . . what contracts it will enforce. Some contracts it "declares to be immoral and contrary to public policy. These "it not only declines to enforce, but not infrequently punishes "those who presume on attempting to complete such contracts. "Others it repudiates or modifies, as complete or partial duress "is employed by one of the parties against the other. . . . "Between beggary and occupancy there has been no alternative "to the Irish cottier and the Highland crofter, and the landowner in these unhappy regions has used powers which the "situation gave him mercilessly and to the full. . . . A famine "rent is extorted under duress, as is also a rent exalted by the "threat of eviction, when the certain loss of the occupier is "apparent to him, and of course not a whit less known to the "owner or the agent. It is justice on the part of the state to "protect a tenant against so one-sided a contract, and it is in "accordance with the public policy that the state should interpret contracts for the use of land equitably."

The English idea of the "sacredness of contract" is founded upon the fallacy, that the systems of land tenure in England and Ireland are identical. No man of distinction in the three kingdoms, except Lord Salisbury, would pretend belief in such identity of tenure. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in Parliament in 1870, said :—

"We cannot name a point in which the relations of landlord "and tenant in Ireland and in Great Britain are the same, "except only in what may be called the abstract and general "idea."

CHAPTER X.

IS A NOTICE OF EJECTMENT EQUIVALENT TO A SENTENCE OF DEATH?

“If you cut away the land from beneath the [the Irish peasant’s] feet his next step must be into space, or, at least, into the limbo of beggardom. To each man the possession of a patch of land becomes absolutely necessary to existence.”—LORD DUFFERIN.

LET us now observe what representative Englishmen, statesmen and publicists, have said of Irish evictions effected under the circumstances described in the House of Commons, on the 22nd of May 1882, by Sir George Trevelyan, at that time Chief Secretary for Ireland :—

“Every day the Government gets reports of evictions,” he said, “and whenever these evictions are of tenants who can pay their rents and will not, the Government is very carefully informed by their officers. That is not the case with all evictions; and at this moment, in one part of the country, men are being turned out of their houses, actually by battalions, who are no more able to pay the arrears of these bad years than they are able to pay the national debt. . . . In three days 150 families, numbering 750 persons, were turned out in one district alone. At the headquarters of the Union, though only one member of each family attended to ask for assistance, there was absolutely a crowd at the door of the workhouse. It was not the case that these poor people belonged to the class of extravagant tenants. They were not whisky-drinkers; they were not in terror of the Land League. One man who owed £8 borrowed it on the promise of repayment in six months with £4 of addition—a rate of interest which hon. members could easily calculate—that he might live in his home. The cost of the process of eviction amounted to £3, 17s. 6d. I am told that in this district there are

“thousands in this position—people who have been beggared for years, people who have been utterly unable to hold up their heads since those bad years, and whose only resource from expulsion from their homes is the village money-lender.”

In 1834 Mr. Poulet-Scrope, M.P. for Stroud, addressed a public letter to Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, from which the following brief but pregnant extract is taken. A longer passage from the same important public document will be found at page 110:—

“If the peasant and his family are ejected (by the cheap and summary process which landlord-made law provides) from their cabin, which sheltered him from his birth, and his fathers before him—what remains? *He must die!* The law, at least, says so. The law allows him no other alternative.”

Thornton, in his *Plea for Peasant Proprietors*, observes:—

“The outrages by which life and property are endangered in Ireland, result naturally from the wretchedness and desperation of the people. The law is disobeyed because to the multitudes, who have nothing to lose, it affords no protection, while it withholds from them everything they covet. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and they who cannot keep their lives by any other means, must fight for them. To an Irish cottier a writ of ejectment is equivalent to a sentence of starvation, and he not unnaturally endeavours to retain possession of his land by sending a bullet through the head of every competitor. It is the fear of destitution that goads him on to crime.”

Doubleday, in the second volume of his *Life of Sir Robert Peel*, appears to be in complete agreement with Thornton. He says:—

“Where ejectment for non-payment of rent from his little holding is all but equivalent to a sentence of death, by slow starvation, upon a man and his family, men placed in a position so dreadful, acting upon the law of nature, which places self-preservation first in the list of motives, will escape the ejectment by murdering the agent.”

In the *Times* of the 30th of May 1850, there appeared a leading article, in the course of which the equivalent of a notice of ejectment is set forth in no measured language as follows:—

“By his holding the peasant lives; his potato plot maintains him and his family—wretchedly indeed; but miserable as the pittance is on which he lives, it is derived from his holding. To that holding he clings with desperate tenacity, and lest he should be evicted, he will promise anything. The unfortunate man can find no farmer near in want of hands and ready to give wages. The grave or the workhouse is now his only alternative. . . . The judgment of eviction to a tenantry of this description is, in many cases, a judgment of death. For the proprietorial acts, which lead to such extensive suffering [as that now existing in Donegal and elsewhere in Ireland], the law has provided no punishment, and even the voice of Society is mute. . . . Can we wonder at the wild torrent of vengeance and of hate which bears away before it all thoughts of duty and obedience?—ought we to be startled if before it lie prostrate all fear of doing evil, all thoughts of the terrible future, and the consequence that must inevitably follow the breach of that law which bids us do no murder?”

And the *Times* thus extenuates and excuses the homicidal madness of the Irish peasant in his desperation and despair:—

“What, we ask, are likely to be the feelings of a man cast into the road, with his wife and wailing children around him, without shelter, without food, without hope? Burning indignation is in his heart—ignorant, and mad with desperate recklessness, he turns in his anger on the direct instrument of his misery. Revenge weaves for itself a fatal web of sophistry, and eagerly listens to any suggestion which gives to the gratification of its passion and hate the character of the wild justice which was long since declared to be the slave’s sole protection.”

It is not a little surprising, then, to find the *Times* of the 25th of February last founding an envenomed attack, the second of the kind within a few weeks, on Mr. Gladstone, on the assumption that he is the author of the remarkable saying in regard to the consequences of Irish evictions which is really the property of

the *Times* itself. There were circumstances which rendered those attacks peculiarly discreditable to that journal at the moment, which cannot be further alluded to here. The right honourable gentleman was rudely assailed as though he had been guilty of some criminal recklessness of speech in Parliament; and when he repudiates the charge, the *Times* plainly insinuates that the speech was uttered all the same, and afterwards garbled for publication in *Hansard*! If the reader will compare what Mr. Gladstone really said (see next page), as he is reported in *Hansard*, with the *Times*' own utterance on the subject, which we have just read, it will be seen at once that it is the latter that has used the stronger language of the two. Where Mr. Gladstone uses the word "starvation," the *Times* uses the word "death;" and we know that a man may be suffering from starvation while he is still alive. Meanwhile, here is the comment of the *Times*, which is a curiosity under the circumstances:—

"Mr. Gladstone—it will be observed, we think, with general surprise—declares that he has never said, 'in solemn or in any other tones, that an eviction is a sentence of death.' The statement thus repudiated has been quoted hundreds of times in the press and on the platform, and is, indeed, a commonplace rhetoric with Mr. Gladstone's followers and allies, but here again we are ready to do Mr. Gladstone complete justice. We have found in *Hansard* the original phrase, and, for a good many reasons, it is worth giving in full. 'And this eviction,' said Mr. Gladstone in the debate on the Disturbance Bill in 1880, speaking of an eviction, as he explained, for non-payment of rent, 'it is no exaggeration to say, in a country where the agricultural pursuit is the only pursuit, and where the means of the payment of rent are entirely destroyed for the time by the visitation of Providence, that the poor occupier may, in these circumstances, regard the sentence of eviction as coming for him very near to a sentence of starvation.' The passage as it stands is not quite grammatical, but is intelligible enough, and it conveys to the ordinary mind the impression that from the tenant's point of view an eviction is equivalent to a sentence of a peculiar and most painful form of death. . . . We may add that Mr. T. P. O'Connor in his work on *The Parnell Movement*, refers admiringly to this 'famous doctrine,' stated in its bluntest form, and quotes the passage

“from *Hansard* ; but, in reliance, no doubt, on his recollection “of what he heard himself in the House of Commons, alters the “last word from ‘starvation’ to ‘death.’ Other reports confirm “this reading, which, however, is quite unimportant. We think “we may leave to our readers to decide for themselves whether “Mr. Gladstone spoke ‘in solemn tones’ or not.”

If Mr. Gladstone had really said so there would be nothing surprising in the saying, which has been uttered by several persons of more or less eminence from time to time, as will be seen from a perusal of the present chapter. Meanwhile there has been a singular lapse of memory on the part of the *Times*. Here is what Mr. Gladstone felt himself constrained to say in April 1870, on the occasion of his introducing his first Land Bill in Parliament—“We have made ejectments cheap and “easy, and notices to quit have descended upon the Irish “people like snow-flakes.” Ten years afterwards, in the debate on Mr. W. E. Forster’s Compensation for Disturbance Bill, he spoke as follows :—

“In the failure of the crops, crowned by the year 1879, the “act of God had replaced the Irish occupier in the condition in “which he stood before the Land Act. Because what had he “to contemplate? He had to contemplate eviction for his non- “payment of rent : and as a consequence of eviction, starva- “tion. And . . . it is no exaggeration to say, in a country “where the agricultural pursuit is the only pursuit, and where “the means of the payment of rent are entirely destroyed for a “time by the visitation of Providence, that the poor occupier “may under these circumstances regard a sentence of eviction “as coming, for him, very near to a sentence of starvation.”

Distinguishing between the two classes of outrages—those of the tenant and those of the landlord—Mr. Gladstone, speaking in the House of Commons, on May 24, 1882, also said :—

“Eviction is the exercise of a legal right which may be to “the prejudice of your neighbour, which may involve the highest “responsibility, nay, even deep moral guilt. There may be “outrages which—all things considered, the persons and the “facts—may be less guilty in the sight of God than evictions.”

Mr. Froude has expressed himself in regard to crime in much

the same spirit, and apportion the guilt in a like independent manner thus:—

“Unjust laws provoke and compel resistance. Violence follows, and crime and guilt; but the guilt, when the account is made up, does not lie entirely with the poor wretch who is called the criminal.”

Mr. J. H. Tuke's testimony, in his *Donegal and Connaught in 1880*, is similar to that of Lord Dufferin:—

“Take away from the tenant his little holding, and nothing is left to him but the workhouse, . . . which is simply unendurable to an Irish peasant. Except in some of the towns there is not even an unoccupied house which a man could hire if he obtained work apart from his holding. Hence the tenacity with which the holding is retained and defended. They [the peasants] are like shipwrecked sailors on a plank in the ocean; deprive them of the few inches by which they ‘hold on,’ and you deprive them of life. Deprive an Irishman of the few feet of land by which he ‘holds on,’ and you deprive him of all that makes life possible.”

It would be easy to multiply quotations of this kind from the writings and speeches of English public men, past and present, but the exigencies of space require that even a subject so urgent for discussion should be kept within moderate bounds. It will be observed that Mr. Tuke speaks of the workhouse as being “unendurable” to the Irish peasant. Mr. Godkin, a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman, at one time editor of the *Londonderry Standard*, is more outspoken than Mr. Tuke. Speaking of the process of eviction, and its consequences, he wrote as follows, in the course of a published letter inviting a tenant-right deputation to the maiden city in 1850:—

“I declare before heaven my firm conviction that it would be more humane and merciful in the law, when the levelling brigade goes forward to destroy a village, to pull down houses over the heads of families—the frantic mother instinctively clinging to the roof-tree as for life—I declare solemnly that I think it would be more merciful to order out the police, to make them surround the village, and shoot dead on the spot every one of the men, women, and children, than doom them to the moral death and physical degradation of those pest-

“houses—the overcrowded and disorderly poorhouses of Ireland.”

Nowhere in the world are women so pure as in Ireland. But nowhere are they more to be pitied when they lose their virtue. The family considers itself irretrievably disgraced, and casts them out utterly. No matter what may be their repentance, there is for them no forgiveness at home. There, at least, it may be truly said:—

“ Every woe a tear may claim
Except an erring sister’s shame.”

Is it surprising that the evicted Irish peasant, reduced to the alternative of the workhouse, should occasionally be driven to fury by anxiety for his innocent children under the circumstances? Who is there, reduced to so pitiable a plight, with a knowledge of the too probable fate that is in store for some, at least, amongst those little ones, that could resist dark imaginings? He must be a stoic, not an ordinary mortal, to struggle against them successfully.

The Irish are by nature, perhaps, the cleverest race in Europe. But there is an illogical side to their character, as regards the way in which they resist tyranny and oppression. It was one of those idiosyncrasies which sorely puzzled the acute mind of Lord Melbourne, on his first arrival in Ireland as Chief Secretary, in 1827. He readily understood whence arose the anarchic sympathy with agrarian outrage which was not shown towards ordinary crime there. But he was constantly asking with an unsatisfied curiosity, notwithstanding, for the details of cases illustrating the internecine war which raged in those days between the many and the few. His biographer, Mr. McCullagh Torrens, M.P., tells, in the first volume of his *Memoirs*, how, soon after his arrival in Dublin, a private dinner party was specially got up for his enlightenment on the subject. Several instances were related to him in the course of the evening of lawless vengeance dealt out by the infuriated peasantry on men little above their own rank in life, such as bailiffs, process-servers, tithe collectors, and small proprietors themselves (who were probably holding minor agencies for rent collecting).

The patience of the new Secretary was at length exhausted. What followed must have set the plates and glasses clattering on the board. "*And why,*" he suddenly asked, "*don't they go at the big ones?*" It was meekly explained to him that absenteeism accounted for the "illogicality" in some measure, and Sir Philip Crampton, who was one of the party, mentioned the case of a well-known Tipperary landlord who was commonly called the "woodcock," because he was so hard to hit; to prove, as he said, that there was no special tenderness shown to rank or fortune. "But the significance of the question," observes Mr. Torrens, "and the tone in which it was put were not to be forgotten."

Afterwards, the same eminent statesman, Lord Melbourne—the future, long continued, Prime Minister of England, the friend and trusted counsellor of our present gracious sovereign—in a letter which will also be found in the first volume of the same *Memoirs*, gave utterance to a judgment on one victim of assassination amongst the Irish landlords, which, unhappily, it cannot be denied, might stand for many of his class during the present century, more particularly in periods of distress since 1815:—

"If one-half of what is told me of him be true," Lord Melbourne said, "and it comes from many different quarters—if he "had had forty thousand lives, there could have been no wonder "if they had all been taken."

The Irish priests tell their people that they should obey the laws of man, however iniquitous, rather than shed one drop of human blood; and this also was the dictum of O'Connell. Otherwise, the emergency man and his battering-ram, Mr. Balfour and his Removables—*cum multis aliis quæ nunc prescribere longum est*—would speedily disappear from Ireland, as did the Irish toads when they were frowned upon by St. Patrick; for, as Mr. Bright once forcibly expressed it—speaking hypothetically of the Irish landlords in like case—they would be obliged to flee the country "like red shanks." But while the Irish priests conceive this extreme view of the precepts of the Gospel, English representative men will be found to maintain that the law of self-preservation comes from God's right

hand ; and eminent foreign jurists like Grotius have defined this law of nature, the "Dictate of Reason." Nor are our Scotch friends at variance with their English and Continental neighbours on the question. Take the following from the *Digest of the Law of Scotland* (fifth edition, 1854), by Alexander Macallan, Advocate, as an example :—

"What the Law of Nature has commanded, cannot be forbidden, or even dispensed with by positive law ; and, in like manner, what it prohibits cannot be commanded, or even permitted by human authority. The Law of Nature being indeed the command of God, to whom all His creatures owe absolute obedience, no earthly lawgiver, who is himself subject to that Law, hath a right of abrogating or controlling it."

"Starve my wife and children, and see if bayonets will put me down, except by death !" exclaims Sir Charles Napier, the hero of Scinde, after reproaching the Irish with too tamely submitting to the "laws of man." But it is not expedient to discuss a delicate topic of this kind in a work intended for popular reading. The purpose is rather to expose the hypocrisy of those politicians who pretend to believe that Irish peasants have been guilty of some abnormal number of crimes throughout the agrarian agitation of the last half century. The Devon Commission, Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Gladstone, and many other high authorities, will be found declaring in these pages that the patience of the Irish people, in all the dread circumstances of the present era, is unexampled in history. Their patience, indeed, it is often said, has been the cause of their ruin, because it is upon this safe foundation that persons like Lords Hartington and Salisbury construct their so-called "firm and unflinching" policy of exasperation. It is shown in these opening chapters that the virtue is one which has not been quite so well understood or practised by Englishmen and Scotchmen under oppression, fortunately for themselves ; even when the conditions have not been nearly so galling to the oppressed—when they have not, for instance, involved questions of life or death. And the Irish may yet give point to Macaulay's verse, and prove, "in some wild hour, how much the wretched dare."

CHAPTER XI.

IRISH EVICTIONS FROM AN ENGLISH STANDPOINT.

"Some of the evictions that have already taken place this winter—we do not care to specify them—have been inhuman spectacles, fit only for a barbarous country and a barbarous age. They revolt the consciences of men influenced by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor. The Government . . . may well take into consideration the question whether it is not time to dissociate, by wider legislative sanction, the action of the Executive from the enforcement of decrees which are heartily condemned by public sentiment as gross violations of Humanity and Right."—*Standard*, January 18, 1887.

IN the new edition of *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, which began publication in 1887, there is an article on "British Agriculture," which is very instructive and useful for reference in discussing the Irish question. For well nigh ten years past it has been customary amongst a certain class in this country to speak of the agitation for a reduction of rents in Ireland as a vast conspiracy against truth, justice, and honesty. From Lord Salisbury himself down to the humblest of his followers, this has been the constant unvarying cry. Indeed, Lord Salisbury has not been ashamed to speak of the Irish people as pick-pockets and connivers at wholesale robbery of the Irish landlords; never minding the fact that tribunals legally established by Parliament have made sweeping reductions of rent as a matter of equity in Ireland; showing that the tenants were the robbed, not the robbers. Lord Salisbury is also well aware, as a landed proprietor, that English landlords have voluntarily, as might be expected from them, agreed to enormous abatements of their rental in this country too, and for the same reason, viz., on account of the gigantic depreciation in the value of land in Great Britain as well as in Ireland since 1875. Well, all that

can be said on the subject in the face of these indisputable facts is this—if there has been any conspiracy against truth in the matter at all, it certainly has not been organised by the friends of the Irish tenants, either in this country or in Ireland. How then are we to account for the unmeasured abuse of the Irish people so commonly indulged in by the Prime Minister? One is forbidden by respect for his high office from replying to the question as it deserves:—

“Though Great Britain is the greatest manufacturing and mercantile nation in the world,” observes Chambers, “agriculture is nevertheless her most important industry. Agriculture has profited greatly by the increasing wealth flowing in from other sources. . . . With the increasing prosperity of the industrial classes, prices of farm-produce rose apace, and in the years 1870–73, British agriculture attained to an unprecedented point of prosperity. Unfortunately this flourishing state of matters was not long lived. Gradually the tide of prosperity receded, and the disastrously wet and sunless year of 1879 completed the wreck of many an industrious farmer. Since then the tendency has been continually downwards, and even yet there is but faint indication of improvement. A succession of bad years, with an excess of rain and a deficiency of sunshine, have curtailed the produce of crops, and lessened the store of fertility in the soil. Through increased foreign competition and diminished purchasing power amongst the industrial classes, the price of wheat fell between 1880 and 1886 from 50s. to 30s. per quarter, barley from 40s. to 25s., and oats and other products almost as much in proportion. For a time beef and mutton maintained their value wonderfully, but at last they also gave way. Between 1884 and 1887 beef has fallen from 80s. to 55s. per cwt., and the decrease in mutton has been almost as great. This enormous decline in prices—representing from £3 to £5 per acre for wheat, and from £6 to £8 upon a two-year-old bullock—has dealt a terrible blow upon British farming. Thousands of [British] farmers, formerly in comfortable circumstances, have been utterly ruined, and for the time being a large extent of poor, stiff, and stubborn land has been thrown out of cultivation; while a still larger area is being farmed at a loss to the occupiers, and little or no benefit to the owner. This, of course, cannot long continue, and as leases fall out or tenants

"succumb, farms either revert to the proprietors' hands or are
 "let at greatly reduced rents. The depression has fallen most
 "heavily upon strong clay lands, and in some parts of England
 "land of this kind brings in hardly enough to pay the tithe,
 "not to speak of any rent to the proprietor; consequently it
 "lies untenanted and uncared for. It is impossible to accu-
 "rately foreshadow the immediate future of British agriculture,
 "but it seems more than probable that, at anyrate for a con-
 "siderable time to come, farming will be conducted with less
 "capital than formerly, and altogether at an easier pace, with
 "a lower level of prices. . . . According to the Income Tax
 "return, the landowners' capital in 1875 amounted to no less
 "than £1,672,775,000—an increase of £276,375,000 in twenty
 "years. Since then the value of landed property has tumbled
 "down headlong; and it is probably within the mark to say
 "that to-day the capital of the landowners of the kingdom
 "is less than it was in 1875 by 30 per cent.—or say by
 "£500,000,000. In an official return made to the House of
 "Commons for the years 1883–84, the gross annual value of
 "'land,' as assessed for income-tax in the United Kingdom, is
 "stated at £65,442,000. This, at twenty-five years' purchase,
 "would amount to £1,636,050,000; but there is no doubt that
 "the value of the landowners' property is now very far short of
 "that formidable sum. . . . In the Parliamentary Return just
 "referred to for 1883–84, the tenant-farmers' capital is given
 "at £300,000,000. This is probably above rather than below
 "the mark. The loss in farmers' capital since 1875 can hardly
 "be under £100,000,000; and, reckoning the landowners' loss
 "at five times as much, there has been a loss through the agri-
 "cultural depression of no less than £600,000,000—a vast
 "sinking of property in the short space of twelve years, far
 "exceeding the increase of the preceding thirty years. . . . All
 "over, the decline in rent has run from 10 to 50 per cent., first-
 "class farms coming down from 50s. to 30s., or even less, and
 "medium land from 30s. to 20s., 15s., or even as low as 10s.
 "per acre."

The writer might have added the notorious fact, that, in some
 parts of England at least, the landlords have even occasionally
 invited the bankrupt farmers to remain on their farms for two
 or three years free of rent, in the hope of happier times to come,
 on the friendly understanding that they agreed to pay the taxes

only, in cases where it was known there was no longer a question of eking out rent of any kind. Now apply this knowledge of ours here before us to the condition of things in a wretchedly poor country like Ireland, which is destitute of manufacturing industries, for reasons described elsewhere, which are, alas ! deeply discreditable to the English Parliament. Mr. Thomas Knipe, a member of a recent Royal Commission on Land, quoted the following official returns in his separate report to Parliament, to show the extent of the fall in the value of agricultural produce and live stock in recent years in Ireland :—

“The estimated value of grain and all other crops in Ireland,” Mr. Knipe observed, “amounted to in the years—

1875.	1881.	1886.
63 millions.	46 millions.	31 millions sterling.

“Showing a depreciation in value, in the year 1886, of 32 millions sterling, as compared with 1875; and 15 millions within the last five years alone, or since the last Land Act was passed. The same Official Returns give the value of the “live stock in all Ireland for the years—

1881.	1886.
50 millions.	41 millions sterling.

“It will be seen from the same returns that the combined “values of agricultural produce and live stock for the year of “1886, as compared with the average of the four years 1881–“1884, show a reduction of 23 per cent.

“The agricultural rent of Ireland as returned by Sir John “Ball Greene amounts to about 13 millions sterling. In 1881, “therefore, 28 per cent. of the total value (say 46 millions) of “agricultural produce was due for rent, and in 1886, when the “value had fallen to 31 millions, rent claimed 42 per cent.”

Putting these English and Irish facts together, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the continued agrarian agitation to bring about a further reduction of Irish rents, in accordance with the altered circumstances of the times, is one perfectly justifiable. English landowners have voluntarily and of their own good will made enormous reductions of rent to meet the necessities of the case. In Ireland, and the Scottish Highlands,

landlords have resisted every attempt to persuade them to adopt a similar course, until at length Parliament was compelled to interfere in behalf of the tenants. Yet in spite of such powerful interference even, the Irish landlords have contrived in many instances to evict the tenants mercilessly for failing to continue payment on the scale of the old rents.

Many of our leading journals are strangely in error in directing their indignation wholly against Lord Clanricarde, being ignorant apparently that even greater sinners against the canons of humanity are to be found amongst the evicting landlord forces scattered throughout Ireland. One of these, the Marquis of Sligo, has probably evicted more human beings than any man of his class, living or dead. In the parish of Aughagower, in the county of Mayo, a Captain Houston, a tenant of his, occupied some years ago a territory of two hundred square miles, out of which every living soul, except a few herds, are said to have been remorselessly banished by this landlord. In another parish, that of Louisburgh, scores of once comfortable townlands have been literally cleared in like manner by the agency of Lord Sligo, and Lord Lucan, another exterminating absentee landlord, lately deceased—a parish which had a population of 2,200 families, that is more than 10,000 souls, in 1846, according to Lavelle's *Irish Landlord*. Lord Sligo succeeded to the title and estates in 1845, is a typical absentee, and the possessor of an annual rental valued at £20,497 by Government, for taxation purposes; as set forth in the Irish Domesday Book printed by order of the House of Commons in 1876. Only a few years ago, the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, writing from Claremorris, County of Mayo, said of him:—

“It must not be supposed that Lord Sligo's tenants have no grievance against the ‘office,’ at which impersonal thing they hurl bitter words. It was the ‘office’ that took from them years ago the privilege of pasturing their cattle upon the adjacent hills. It was the ‘office’ which laid a tax of 25 per cent. upon the proceeds of their industry in making kelp. It was the ‘office’ which insisted that, while drift seaweed might be freely gathered, weed growing on the shore may not be had

“without payment. It was the ‘office’ which demanded half-a-crown per homestead for cutting turf, on pretence of making roads to the bogs, and left the roads unmade. And it was the ‘office’ which, four or five years ago, raised the rents 25 per cent., established a new tenancy, and deprived the holders of the right to claim compensation under the Land Act for their improvements.”

One should know something of the Irish agrarian question to understand the full drift of this indictment by the influential London journal. But unhappily there is something worse yet, infinitely worse in its nature, if not its consequences, to be told than what is revealed in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1881 the present writer visited some of the evicted peasants on the estate of Lord Sligo on mountain land above Louisburgh, for the purpose of investigating on the spot the circumstances which led to their eviction. They were as dreadful as those of which we are daily reading nowadays in our morning paper. But the poor tenants having been re-admitted as “caretakers” of their cabins, there was a brief respite before the final execution of the landlord’s decree against them. What this caretaking means requires a short explanation, though it must be understood that at best it only falls to the lot of a comparatively small portion of the evicted. Their “caretaking,” then, only means a reprieve for six months, and if in that time they are not able to pay their rack-rents, as well as the heavy law costs that have accumulated against them, they lose the right of continuing as tenants. But, as they were not able to pay the rack-rent itself when it fell due, it is highly improbable, unless some fresh aid arrived from their sons or daughters, if they had any, in America meanwhile, that they were able to pay both the rent and law costs before the six months’ period of redemption expired. During these six months, *no crops could be sown by them*, and they were in this dreadful position, that they were liable as caretakers to be re-evicted *at a week’s notice*. The office receipts realised the fact, hinted at by the *Daily Telegraph*, that Lord Sligo’s tenants had been for years systematically oppressed and defrauded in various ways. A Royal Commission has

now brought to light the circumstance that this landlord, amongst others, compelled his wretched tenants, who are supported by public charity in periods of distress, to pay poor-rate when they were legally entitled to exemption from it—Lord Sligo pocketing the spoil from year to year. The small holdings around Westport are commonly held “in co.,”—that is, as in “company,” the local term where English is spoken; and this “co”-system is sometimes used by absentee and other unscrupulous landlords to defraud these defenceless creatures out of the total remission or abatement of the poor-rate, to which by law they are entitled. A Royal Commission dealing with the subject reported in the following manner for the information of Parliament and the British public:—

“It might be supposed that in these congested districts (in Galway, Sligo, &c.), the majority of occupiers are rated under £4, and are not liable, therefore, for the payment of poor-rates. It was stated in evidence, however, that a custom prevails in some of these western unions of joining together a certain number of small occupiers, valued severally under £4, as tenants ‘in co.’ on the rent-roll. Thus, although they occupy distinct holdings, the aggregate value of the ‘co.’ tenancy is raised to above £4, and the landlord is able to evade his liability for the entire amount of the poor-rate which he would have to pay if the ratings were separate. We found cases, notably on the property of Lord Sligo, where no reduction in respect of poor-rates was allowed in the rent to tenants above £4, and where the tenants valued below that amount were also obliged to pay all rates. This arrangement,” the Commissioners go on to remark, “appears to be opposed to the principle of the Act of Parliament.”

Since 1845, Lord Sligo has been engaged in the work of eviction, aided by all the resources of the Crown, and his rage and cupidity are not yet satiated. He is now reaching the three score years and ten of the Psalmist, and here is how he is engaged, from a safe vantage ground in England, in regaling himself in his old age, in heaping up fresh odium on the British Government and the British name. In the course of last year (1888), the Rev. W. Joyce, the parish priest of Louisburgh,

county of Mayo, wrote to the *Freeman's Journal*, that the Marquis of Sligo's eviction campaign in that county was renewed. Three families, without subsistence, evicted at dawn a few days before Christmas, had to take shelter in ditches, and were not admitted as caretakers. He was called to administer the last rites of the Church to a blind woman eighty years of age, and bedridden for many years, whom he found thrown on the bare rock outside her door, with rags insufficient to decently cover her. Being unwilling to administer the sacraments (including the anointing with oil) in such a position, he begged Lord Sligo's representatives to re-admit her for the purpose, but they refused. No other house being at hand, he had to force the door and set her inside for the purpose. After that he believed the people removed her—fearing the law, Mr. Joyco concluded. Of course if there were any government in Ireland worthy of the name, nobody supposes that Lord Sligo and his fellows would be permitted to act in this manner towards the most defenceless of the Queen's subjects with complete impunity. On the contrary, they would be put in the dock as criminals, instead of those starving peasants who are driven to madness by their rapacity and oppression, if the "rights of property" did not block the way.

Amongst the tales of horror related to the present writer in Mayo on this occasion, one of the most striking referred to the late Lord Lucan, another absentee landlord, who was a brother-in-law of Lord Cardigan, and divided with him the responsibility for the destruction of the gallant Light Brigade at Balaclava. His property joined Lord Sligo's in Mayo, and the two absentee peers were rivals in the work of exterminating their tenants. As Lord Lucan only died last year the reader may feel inclined to enjoin *nil nisi bonum*; but unfortunately there is no *nisi* in the matter, any more than in recalling the deeds of the Emperor Nero, or King Pedro of Castile. Indeed, it is due to the memory of the Roman emperor to recollect the testimony of Pliny, that when similar consolidations and clearances were ruining Italy and the provinces, six lords owned half Africa until Nero summarily put them to death at his own sweet will. As far as the eye could reach, and farther still beyond the

horizon, around Castlebar, Lord Lucan had cleared the country of human beings, after the great famine of 1846-7, and substituted brute beasts in their stead; the law and the Government aiding and abetting in the atrocious work. There is a piquant commentary of Swift on such criminal folly, written early in the last century:—"The good of this is, that the more sheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool or eat the flesh." And what became of all the people? "They died in such numbers in the neighbouring workhouse," observed Mr. de Burgh Sidley, a young Episcopal clergyman of the neighbourhood, "that the Earl humanely rented the Poor-Law Guardians some additional land close by to accommodate the exceptional mortality;" thus making something out of his victims even in their pauper graves. Lavelle, in his *Irish Landlord*, adds that Lord Lucan, after devastating the countryside in this manner, adroitly contrived to get it transferred to another electoral Poor-Law division, so as to escape payment of the additional poor-rate, which his cruelty had rendered necessary in the circumstances.

On one occasion a zealous and popular young Protestant clergyman (not Mr. Sidley, who was not then born) took occasion to write to the hero of Balaclava for assistance to build a certain school, which would in due course be filled, mostly, by the children of the Earl's own tenants. No answer came to the letter. But shortly afterwards, Lord Lucan, being in Ireland on one of his flying excursions, paid a visit to his clerical correspondent for the purpose of demanding what claim he had to write to him for a subscription of the kind. The young clergyman modestly replied that he thought he had a good moral claim, inasmuch as there were a considerable number of his tenants to be benefited by the projected school. "Nothing of the kind, sir," replied the landlord hotly; when the clergyman attempted to stand to his guns by going into details. He stalked out of the house angrily, declaring that there was not a tenant of his in existence in the place in question. However, having observed the firmness of his correspondent's assertion, Lord Lucan went straight to the Clerk of the Union to inspect the rate-books,

when lo ! he discovered, to his deep chagrin, that there were as yet some of the "vermin" left unexterminated. Next day he returned to the clergyman, saying—"I have to apologise to you ; "you were quite right about my tenants. But," he quickly added, as a demoniacal scowl came into his face, "you need "build no school on their account, for I shall have cleared every "soul of them out of the place by the 1st of November." A bright young Catholic priest, the Rev. John Stephens, was sitting at the opposite side of the luncheon table, and there were some young ladies elsewhere in the room where this conversation was related. I pushed away the wine-glass, the stem of which I had been holding between my fingers, horror-stricken, and looked steadily into the benevolent face of my host for the sequel to the story. "Did he?" was all that I could gasp. "He did," said my host, "he carried out his decree of that morning, after certain legal formalities had been complied with, to "the very letter." There was a dead silence for a few moments, which was broken by my asking the venerable ecclesiastic what had become of the evicted families. "That is just the thing," he said, his voice now quivering with emotion, "I have often "tried to account for in my own mind, because I always felt "that I had been the innocent cause of their destruction. I can "only say I traced nearly all of them to the workhouse, where "they were quickly decimated by disease, and so gradually died "there, the whole of them. Few, if any, escaped to America, "I am afraid."—"Was there any use in inquiry at the work-house?"—"Not the least, they are all dead long ago," was the prompt reply. And now Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Lucan, has himself gone to his account, at the ripe old age of seventy-eight.

"And the Lord said, Where is thy brother? And he said, "I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? And the Lord said, "What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth "unto me from the ground. And now art thou cursed from "the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy "brother's blood from thy hand."

In his *Gleanings in Ireland*, Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne,

recently dead, the famous "S.G.O." of the *Times*, says that the evictions of the starved and dying peasantry took place in such circumstances there, that were but one such case to happen in England there would be no peace in the press till the landlord, sheriff, bailiff, and all the *posse* had taken their trial for manslaughter. And "S.G.O." was quite safe in saying so. Such a demand for vengeance on the oppressor, and his instruments of oppression, would be generally welcomed here as a healthy sign that the English heart beats in the right place. But in Ireland it is different. There the law, and the myrmidons of the law, are in favour of the oppressor; the Government supplies him with magistrates and police and soldiers to execute his cruel decrees against the starving population. But then it is the law, which must be supported, say our Tory politicians. Jefferies, Lord Campbell says, was always a great stickler for the law throughout his infamous career. Horse, foot, artillery, gun-boats, and battering-rams—these are but the implements of the law. Defenceless, half-starved women and innocent children, born in the image of Christ—these are only its victims:—

"Was it difficult to conceive the kind of feeling towards the "British authority with which the children in these Irish homes "must have grown up?" inquires Lord Aberdeen, the most popular Viceroy who has ruled Ireland during the present century. "These evictions were always carried out in the Queen's "name, and many an ignorant peasant had probably never been "brought into contact with the authority and emblems of the "throne except in connection with these dismal proceedings."

If you imagine that the Irish peasants are specially prone to take the law into their own hands—to have recourse to the law of nature, the law of self-preservation in fact—in such dire circumstances, Lord Lucan, now lying in his cold tomb, shall himself arouse you from such vain imaginings. In 1887, that is, the year before his death, after making "war"—the word is Mr. Bright's—on his unhappy tenantry for exactly forty years, he addressed the following indignant remonstrance to the editor of the *Daily News* on account of some erroneous information contributed to that journal in regard to him:—

"Sir," observed Lord Lucan, "my attention has been called
 "to your paper of Saturday last, the 30th October, in which
 "your Special Commissioner, in a letter from Castlebar of
 "October 28th, alluding to me, states that 'the popular party
 "gloat over the spectacle of an aged peer compelled to ride
 "over his amateur Castlebar farm attended by a brace of con-
 "stables to protect him from public vengeance.' I am happy
 "to be able to state that you have never attempted to circulate
 "a grosser untruth. I have never received, never required, and
 "most certainly never desired, any police protection whatever.
 "During the forty years that I have been active in the dis-
 "charge of my public and private business, . . . I have never
 "been offered by anybody, in writing or otherwise, one word
 "menacing or offensive."

While these pages are going through the press, Irish evictions
 are proceeding as usual. The *modus operandi* is much the same
 as it has been at any time during the last seventy-five years.
 But a decided novelty has been introduced to supplement the
 implements of war in the campaign of 1889. Last year an old
 man of eighty, named Dunne, weakly yielding to the effects of
 exposure after eviction, gave up the ghost at the same time that
 he gave up possession of his home. Mr. Gladstone dwelt upon
 this tragical ending of the process of eviction shortly after at
 Bingley Hall, Birmingham, when he demonstrated with voice
 and gesture that a man might attain venerable years long past
 the time prescribed by the Psalmist, without the loss of a single
 one of the five senses—*ergo*, there is no reason why he should
 be put to death prematurely, as it were, before the time appointed
 by the Almighty. Lords Hartington and Salisbury—perhaps
 alarmed at the energy of Mr. Gladstone's denunciation—have
 now prescribed, doubtless upon consultation with that eminent
 medical scientist, James Barr of Liverpool, that the field forces
 engaged in evictions shall in future be provided with a galvanic
 battery (and two emergency doctors attached), in addition to the
 indispensable battering-ram, the petroleum fuse, the crowbar,
 and the ambulance-waggon, with a view to revive the drooping
 spirits of the aged and infirm, should the execution of the legal
 process prove too much for their sensibility. Here is how the

new instrument was humanely put into operation with success upon the body of an old man of eighty-six, named Donovan, as related in the *Daily News* of the 29th of March last :—

“Cork papers report an attempted eviction near Rosscarberry, “the brutality of which is worthy of the palmiest days of Irish “landlordism. Mr. M. A. R. Becher, J.P., Ballydirane, is the “landlord, and the tenant is a young man named Donovan. “The valuation of the farm is £24, 15s., and the old rent, which “has been reduced to £29 by the Land Commission, was £42. “The tenant owed two years’ rent, and the local Catholic “clergyman tried to effect a settlement, but though he offered “on behalf of the tenant very reasonable terms the landlord “was obdurate, and proceeded about a couple of months ago to “evict the family. The designs of the landlord were frustrated “on this occasion by the illness of Donovan’s wife and the weak “condition of his father. The last attempt to evict the family “began a little after six o’clock in the morning. The Donovans “were startled by a loud knocking at the door, and young “Donovan, surmising the cause, barred and bolted the door, “and offered what resistance he could, which was but little. “The shrieval party consisted of a sheriff’s officer, his assistant, “and a Cork bailiff, protected by a force of twenty-five police. “The bailiffs effected an entrance by using the crowbar on the “door, and then proceeded to remove the furniture and other “effects. In the meantime two doctors examined old Donovan, “who was lying weak and debilitated in bed. They pronounced “the old man of over eighty-six winters fit for removal. The “bailiffs having cleared the house, took the poor man out of “bed, and, despite entreaties, remonstrances, and threatenings of “the consequences, proceeded to put on his trousers, stockings, “shoes, and vest. While putting on the coat the old man “swooned off from weakness. The doctors in the yard were “apprised of what had occurred. They were quickly on the “scene, and exhibited much uneasiness. They applied the “galvanic battery and other means to restore and revive anima- “tion. A bailiff was despatched for stimulants to the landlord’s “house some distance off, and some brandy was procured. For “a time matters looked most serious. It was considered that “life was fast ebbing. After some time the old man showed “signs of animation, and then the doctors, after communicating “with the police and sheriff’s party, retired, leaving old Donovan “in his bed, and the family in possession.”

In the next case, reported in the London papers of the same date, there is a little more variety in the scene, and the extent of the suffering is greater. There are two doctors—one a friend of humanity—an old woman of eighty, and a boy of thirteen, who has spent seven years of his young life in bed. The emergency men were in unusual force, and the Royal Irish Constabulary, who are earning an historic record for their stolid bravery on these occasions, were there also in overpowering numbers, and doubly armed to overcome all resistance. The emergency doctor was there too, and no doubt scientifically attached to the galvanic battery, as prescribed by Lords Hartington and Salisbury. Alas! for such a display of administrative power, however, the sheriff actually became *nervous*; and even the emergency doctor hired for the occasion failed at the critical moment to put his trust in the recuperative power of the old woman—should she prove as faint-hearted as old Donovan—under the influence of the battery. The *Star* tells the first part of the story, and the *Daily News* the remainder:—

“Twelve houses from which the tenants were evicted at Clongorey [Midland Counties] were burned on Wednesday night by the agent and about thirty emergency men. The tenants who were evicted on Tuesday made no resistance whatever. The greater number of them lived in miserable cabins on holdings which varied in extent from ten to forty acres, and had fallen into arrears through the destruction of their crops by floods. On Wednesday night the people went to bed as usual about ten o'clock [wherever they could find shelter]. About three o'clock A.M. they were startled by cries of ‘fire,’ and on going out they found that the whole country around was one glare of light. The houses of the evicted tenants were on fire in every quarter. A number of neighbours collected, and some of them, thinking the fire was accidentally caused, made an essay to quench it, but they were prevented by both the police and emergency men. The emergency men waited to witness the completion of their work, and then returned to the police barrack at Clongorey. At half-past four, protected by policemen, they again came out, accompanied by the agent, and set to work to demolish the evicted houses in the hamlet of Clongorey. Houses

"having hay, straw, or other inflammable material stored near them were reserved for the daylight, and were pulled down yesterday in the usual way with pickaxe and crowbar. The emergency men, who during the day were completing the demolition of the houses, were protected by about fifty policemen, thirty of them armed with rifles, and twenty with batons. A number of people who pushed up to witness the work that was being done, were shoved and beaten back by the policemen. The police practically directed the work. Early on Wednesday County-Inspector Lock, accompanied by the agent, went round to the houses, and was asked to give an opinion as to which of them should be allowed to stand as fit for occupation by his policemen [as a barrack]. He told the agent that he would approve of only one house for that purpose, and that house only is now standing."

"I was led to the one unevicted house in the village," observes the special correspondent of the *Daily News* (of the 30th of March), "and found myself in the presence of an old woman, eighty years of age, who has been bedridden for the last five years. This old woman, I learned, could not be removed. The dispensary doctor had furnished a certificate that she was too weak to be taken from her bed. The leader of the emergency men thought this was all nonsense. The old woman, it was said, was only 'excited.' She was put about by the crowd of people around the house, and in the meantime the ambulance-waggon stood at the door to carry her away from her home. But this was rather a delicate business. The sheriff became nervous, and the emergency doctor brought there for the occasion would not vouch for the strength of the venerable invalid. The sheriff would not accept the responsibility of the removal, and so she had perforce to remain. 'I came to this house sixty years ago,' she said. 'I'm a widow for fifty years and have always paid my rent. I have ten grandchildren, and my son and daughter, thirteen of us altogether, and they wanted to put me out now. But if they would wait a while it would be all over.' And so indeed it will be with the widow Kelly. Finally the emergency army¹ left the premises, and the only harm they did to the widow's house was to knock the roof off the porch, and

¹ Are the emergency men only policemen disguised as such? If the Government have adopted the battering-ram, as now openly avowed, what is there to dissuade them from also adopting the emergency men?

"it was probably because they couldn't evict the widow, and
 "were afraid of burning her to death, that they did not set fire
 "to the building. In another cabin the emergency men found
 "a young boy, thirteen years of age, who had been bedridden
 "for seven years. The local doctor had given a certificate that
 "he was not fit to be removed; but they removed him all the
 "same. He was taken out of his bed and carried out of the
 "house in the arms of an emergency man, who placed him on a
 "stool outside the door of his dwelling. The landlord of the
 "property is Mr. Peter De Pentheny O'Kelly, of Barretstown
 "House, Clongorey, who about a year ago took up his residence
 "in the north of the county of Dublin. The property is
 "managed by trustees, of whom the principal is Matthew Aidan
 "Maher, of Enniscorthy, a Danish gentleman named Oxholom,
 "and another man residing in the county Kilkenny."

"I question," says Mr. Sadler, the Tory M.P. for Newark, in his *Ireland*, some sixty years ago, "whether the broad eye of
 "God beholds upon the face of the earth a greater mass of
 "misery than is constantly created by these 'clearances.'¹ . . .
 "As to the prime promoters of and actors in such proceedings,
 "who glory in their shame, no language can sufficiently express
 "the turpitude of their conduct." Mr. Sadler had not lived
 long enough to witness the full development of the clearance
 system in Ireland. And then, with the best and kindest inten-
 tions, he lost himself in the vain effort to fix the responsi-
 bility in the right quarter. He was, in those days, as a voice
 crying in the wilderness. Mr. Gladstone, who succeeded him
 as M.P. for Newark, was not in political existence at the
 time, to proclaim from the housetop even the half truth that
 Parliament was *particeps criminis* in the matter of Irish land-
 lord barbarities. The wholesale evictors of his day Sadler
 did, indeed, denounce as "human monsters;" but be their
 criminality what it may in the sight of Heaven, their succes-
 sors, the Lansdownes, Lucans, Sligos, De Pentheny O'Kelly,
 Recher & Co., are but the instruments of successive govern-
 ments. We hear much of the law nowadays, but nothing of the

¹ Scotch companion pictures of these scenes will be found at page 24, and in the Appendix.

interpretation put upon the law, even by eminent constitutional lawyers. More than twenty years ago Mr. Isaac Butt, Q.C., M.P., wrote as follows of cruel, widespread suffering then inflicted in Donegal by a certain absentee proprietor, without a shadow of provocation or justification :—

“Let any man tell me the difference between an expulsion of the whole population of the [Irish] highland regions of Glenveigh by a squadron of Cromwell’s troopers in 1650, and an expulsion of its population in 1850 by the man who has inherited or purchased Cromwell’s patent. The very ‘pomp and circumstance’ are the same. Military force ejects the people now as it would have done then. The bayonets of the soldiery drive now as they did then the old population from their homes. Cruel men come now as they would have done then, and, amid the wailing of women and the cries of children, level the humble habitations that have given shelter to the simple dwellers in that glen. What, I ask, is the difference? By what mockery of all justice and truth can we call the one the act of inhuman conquest, the other the legitimate exercise of the sacred rights of property with which no one is to interfere? Where is the difference to the evicted family? Where is the difference to the mother that leads away her starving children from the home where her toil had found them bread? What is a ‘clearance’ such as this but the extermination of military conquest put in force under the forms of law? . . . Ireland has endured all that constitutes the agony of the conflict [arising from a war of conquest], and more, far more, than the degradation and misery of defeat. These are the things which almost justify the reasoning of those who argue that it were better for the peasantry of Ireland to risk all in one wild and mad insurrection, than wait to be wasted away by the slow combustion of suppressed civil war; that all the misery which even an unsuccessful revolt could bring upon them were better and lighter than these which a tame submission to the present system entails.”

As regards the evictions now proceeding in Donegal, Miss Ellen Chapman, an English lady, writes as follows in a recent number of the *Leader* newspaper :—

“Having had the good luck to be born in a free country, I have always been in the habit of acting according to the

“dictates of my heart and conscience, without fearing that so doing would get me into trouble with the powers that be; and so I came to Gweedore this week to see into things for myself. No one in England can picture the state of things here. I knew they were as bad as they well could be, but no just idea could be formed, without seeing it, of how bad it really is. The poverty passes description. It is wonderful how people can live through it. You may go over a whole townland in this region and not find enough furniture to furnish a day labourer’s back kitchen in England. The people are absolutely without furniture, clothes, seed, potatoes, bedding, or any of the commonest necessities of life. Even the scanty supply of meal which keeps body and soul together is obtained by the kindness of the storekeepers, who are themselves little above want in many cases. The land is bad, nothing but bog and rock, only made to produce a scanty crop by almost superhuman labour; and yet the people are kindly and gentle, with some of their native grace and beauty still left, in spite of all these terrible drawbacks.”

Of course Mr. Arthur Balfour will, with his usual politeness, suggest that Miss Chapman may be a lady, but that she is—an economist of truth all the same, as is everybody whose evidence comes into conflict with the scrupulous and veracious Chief Secretary for Ireland; his removable magistrates and policemen. The lately deceased author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, Mrs. Craik, was a lady generally esteemed by the British public, though she falls short, no doubt, of the high Balfourian standard in the matter of strict truth. In her work, *Concerning Men*, published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. only last year, Mrs. Craik, speaking of the general characteristics of life amongst those Donegal peasants, says:—

“Their sturdy morality was refreshing. Here, as everywhere in Ireland, existed the strong purity which characterises the Irish peasant. In the village of Gweedore, during sixty years, one instance only was known of a girl losing her character. There, too, nearly the whole of the adult population were pledged teetotallers, and their honesty is proverbial. . . . What English or Scotch village could be named, in which, as at Gweedore, during sixty years, there has been but one fallen woman? What country town is there where, as in the Donegal famine

"times, a heap of furniture, brought in exchange for meal, lay whole months in the market-place, no one laying on it a dishonest finger. These facts which criticsers and calumniators never hear, all suggest the one question raised by Mrs. Hart—"Is not Ireland worth saving? . . . Work, work! Wherever she went that was always the cry.¹ They clamoured for it; they implored for it; and when they got it they did it. In wild, half-civilised Donegal is not at all the feeling which I have heard attributed to great masses of the London unemployed—that they will rather beg threepence than earn a shilling."

These, then, are the unhappy people upon whom our Christian Government lets loose the forces of the Crown to uproot and destroy them, young and old. And yet, only think of it! These outcasts, with tangled hair and torn scanty raiment, are, every soul of them, as precious in the sight of Heaven as the youthful scions of the house of Cecil at Hatfield, wearing birds of Paradise in their bonnets. Nay, they are as precious as those young ladies' reverend and noble brother who preaches Christ and Him crucified from the pulpit of the parish church on this awful anniversary (Good Friday) of man's redemption. This virtuous people are at the mercy of Lord Hartington, but for whose support such villainy could not exist. This thing going on at Falcarragh and elsewhere in Ireland, is, in the well-measured words of a distinguished English M.P. (Mr. Waddy, Q.C.), MURDER, not of the body only, but of the soul! And, as we have already shown in our second chapter, hundreds of years before Mr. Waddy so spoke in the English Parliament, Robert Crowley, a disciple of Bishop Ridley, pronounced it in words of thunder from the English pulpit. There is at least no denying Thomas Carlyle's blunt observation:—

"All men, we must repeat," he observes in his *Chartism*, "were made by God, and have immortal souls in them. The *sans-potato* is of the selfsame stuff as the superfinest Lord Lieutenant. Not an individual *sans-potato* but had a life given him out of heaven."

¹ "We drove 400. miles through the country," Mrs. Hart observed, "and though the people were actually starving, we were never begged from but once. Work, work was all they clamoured for."

But there are preachers many centuries older than Thomas Carlyle. The holy prophets of God were startled by the prosperity of the wicked, and observed how much vanity is increased unto men by oppression. What follows is not unlike the writing on the wall, for it clearly foreshadows the miserable fate that has so frequently overtaken the oppressors of the poor in Ireland :—

Job xxi. :—"Wherefore do the wicked live, become old, yea, "are mighty in power? . . . Their houses are safe from fear, "neither is the rod of God upon them. . . . They send forth "their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. . . . "They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down "to the grave."¹

In Scotland also, where men have disappeared, with "the "ancient landmarks," the warnings of the sacred writer are visibly in course of fulfilment in every strath and glen :—

Proverbs xxii. : "He that oppresseth the poor to increase "his riches . . . shall surely come to want. . . . For the "Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that "spoiled them."

While these pages are going through the hands of the printer, the following appears in the Parliamentary report of the *Daily News* of the 24th of June 1889, under the head of "The Ponsonby Evictions :"—

"Mr. Balfour, in reply to Mr. Sexton, stated that the police "engaged in evictions on the Ponsonby estate were assailed "with abuse by persons in a Catholic chapel-yard, and were "obliged to disperse those persons. . . . There was no reason for "saying a young girl was assaulted. In his opinion the police "were justified in clearing the ground under the circumstances.

"Mr. Sexton asked whether the right hon. gentleman would "afford any means of testing the question as to whether the "girl used improper language.

"Mr. Balfour said that with regard to that point it would "be perfectly possible for the girl or her relations to bring an "action against the man. He had made no imputation with

¹ Latin text : "*In puncto ad inferna descendunt.*" The Douai translation is terribly literal : "In a moment they go down to hell."

“regard to the girl’s character, but unfortunately it too frequently occurred that girls who might be in other respects perfectly well behaved used filthy and obscene language at evictions.”

Every English traveller who has visited Ireland, including Thackeray and Sir Francis Head, has spoken with admiration of the extraordinary virtues of Irish women. We have seen what Mrs. Craik has said of the women of Donegal. The Catholic Bishop of Killala, in Mayo, an eminent ecclesiastic well known to and esteemed by many English travellers, informed the present writer, in 1881, that he knew of only one case of bastardy throughout his entire diocese at that time. Mr. Balfour now states that Irish girls, “in other respects perfectly well behaved, “too frequently use filthy and obscene language at evictions!” Referring to a predecessor of Mr. Balfour in the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Gladstone has, in a published letter, spoken of the “blackguardism” of the means by which he helped to carry the Union in 1800. Mr. Gladstone never uses an inapt or an inaccurate epithet to stigmatise the flagitious conduct of those in positions of power and responsibility. We have here in Mr. Balfour’s language in the House of Commons, applied to virtuous Irish girls, a perfectly fair specimen of some of the means by which it is now sought to bolster up and perpetuate that Union. Not satisfied with turning unhappy women out of their homes at the point of the bayonet, this shameless official would deprive them of their native modesty because they do not vociferously sing “God save the Queen” on being thrust out into the street! Did Balfour *père* pursue the same tactics, including the use of similar slander, when he cleared out the virtuous population of Strathconan in the Scottish Highlands in 1840-48—many hundreds of souls in all, a large number of whom were infirm—to make room for sheep and deer, under the circumstances of exceptional harshness and cruelty described at page 386 in the Appendix, on the authority of Mackenzie’s *Highland Clearances*?

CHAPTER XII.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF OUTRAGE IN IRELAND.

“Let those who are anxious to condemn a whole nation for the fault of a few miserable and degraded wretches, brutalised by the very tyranny which arraigns their brutality, consider under what circumstances the country has been placed. . . . Even under the influence of the horror inspired by great crime, there are those who will remember that such excesses are the miserable legacy that tyranny leaves to societies whose morals she has sapped and whose sympathies she has blunted.”—*Times*, October 12, 1859.

Four centuries ago, a famous English judge and eminent writer, Chief-Justice Fortescue, in his *Absolute and Limited Monarchy*, uttered some wise words, in regard to widespread discontent culminating in insurrection, which are good for all time :—

“Nothing may make the people rise,” he said, “but lacke of goods or lacke of justice ; but yet, certainly, when they lacke goods they will arise, saying they lacke justice. Nevertheless, if they be not poor they will never arise, but if their prince so leve justice that he gyve himself al to tyrannye.”

In Ireland they lacked justice as well as goods, and so had a double motive given them for rising. Writing to the Bishop of Waterford in the last century, and referring to the Whiteboys, Lord Chesterfield, sometime Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, indulged in a little plain speaking on the subject which Lord Mahon says the early editors of his works thought it judicious to suppress. Having first ascribed Whiteboyism “to the sentiment in every human breast that asserts man’s natural right of liberty and good usage, and that will and ought to rebel when oppressed and provoked to a certain degree,” he declared :—

“If the military force had killed half as many landlords as it had Whiteboys [whom they had driven into revolt], it would

"have contributed more effectually to restore quiet. For the "poor people in Ireland," Lord Chesterfield added, "are worse "used than negroes by their masters."

In the *Early Life* of the poet Shelley, he is reported to have spoken as follows, on the 28th of February 1812, at the Fishamble Street Theatre, in Dublin :—

"He was an Englishman ; when he reflected on the outrages "that his countrymen had committed here for the last twenty "years he confessed that he blushed for them. He had come "to Ireland for the sole purpose of interesting himself in "the misfortunes of this country, and impressed with a full "conviction . . . of the baneful effects which the union with "Great Britain had entailed upon Ireland. He had walked "through the fields of the country and the streets of the city, "and he had in both seen the miserable effects of that fatal "step. He had seen that edifice [the Parliament House] which "ought to have been the fane of their liberties converted to a "temple of mammon. . . . Many of the crimes which are "daily committed he could not avoid attributing to the effect "of that measure, which had thrown numbers of people out of "the employment they had in manufacture, and induced them "to commit acts of the greatest desperation for the support of "their existence."

Another poet, and true friend of freedom in every land—Byron—is said to have expressed himself sarcastically in the House of Lords, in the course of one of the few speeches he made there, to the effect that it was a great pity that the Irish people had not been born black, because if they had been many philanthropic people in England would have taken such a tender interest in their welfare that all their grievances would have been remedied long ago.

In 1834 Mr. Poulett-Scrope, M.P., wrote to Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister of the day, the remarkable letter on the Irish Land Question, already referred to, and from which the following is a further extract :—

"Though God gave the land of Ireland to the people of "Ireland—to the many—the law has given it unconditionally "to the few. Even in the best of times, if the landlord refuses "to any peasant the holding of a plot of land, if other starving

“wretches outbid his offer for the patch of soil whose possession
 “is as necessary to his existence as the air he breathes—if sick-
 “ness or misfortune prevent his punctual payment of the
 “enormous rent he has promised, and he and his family are
 “ejected (by the cheap and summary process which landlord-
 “made law provides) from his cabin which sheltered him from
 “his birth, and his fathers before him—what remains? *He*
 “*must die!* The law, at least, says so. The law allows him
 “no other alternative. He may contrive to prolong a precarious
 “existence on the charity of his poor neighbours (as he asks
 “in vain from the rich), or he may take by force or stealth
 “what is necessary to preserve life. But the law does not
 “recognise these means of living; on the contrary the law
 “forbids them. The law says, if he cannot rent land or obtain
 “work he shall starve. This is the real wrong—this is the
 “giant grievance—this is the most crying, the most urgent of
 “the just complaints of the Irish people. And it is against
 “this state of the law that they combine in their Whiteboy
 “associations—associations that will never be put down until
 “the law extends that protection to the lives of the poor which
 “it now lavishes almost exclusively on the property of the rich.
 “And who will say that the peasantry ought not in the state of
 “the law to combine for their mutual protection? Is there no
 “point of oppression at which resistance to the law becomes a
 “duty? We have the recent authority of the head of the law
 “for the principle—a principle as old as it is true—that allegi-
 “ance is only due where protection is afforded; and where the
 “law refuses its protection it cannot claim allegiance. Does the
 “law, then, protect the Irish peasant? Not from starvation.
 “The law affords the Irish peasant no protection from so
 “horrible a fate. Hundreds are at present exposed to it.
 “Millions know they are liable to it. Can the law justly re-
 “quire their allegiance? Can we expect them willingly to pay
 “it? No. The peasantry of Ireland feel that the law places
 “their lives at the mercy of the few, whom it invests with
 “sovereign power over the land of their native country, with
 “power to sweep them at will off its surface. They feel that
 “the continuance of the system of clearing estates, which has
 “been for so many years in progress, is a question of life and
 “death to them. And therefore do they combine against it.
 “. . . But for the salutary dread of the Whiteboy associations
 “ejectments would desolate Ireland and decimate her popu-
 “lation, casting forth thousands of families like noxious weeds

"rooted out of the soil on which they have hitherto grown, perhaps too luxuriantly, and flung away to perish on the roadside. Yes, the Whiteboy system is the only check on the ejectment system, and, weighing one against the other—horror against horror and crime against crime—it is perhaps the lesser evil of the two."

The press hooted Lord Melbourne from office because of his good understanding with O'Connell. Mr. Poulett-Scrope re-addressed his public letter to the less sympathetic Sir Robert Peel. As well might he have addressed it to a milestone. Meanwhile, as regards Irish agrarian outrages generally, their origin is briefly and succinctly described as follows in Sir Cornwall Lewis's standard work on Irish disturbances:—

"The tendency to violent outrage amongst the Irish peasantry is precisely one of those dispositions which are the creatures of circumstances, and is very far from being one of those habits which are proverbially said to become a second nature. . . . All [Ireland's] disturbances arise from the local and limited causes which have been described [in the evidence of several parliamentary committees] as continually urging the peasantry to measures of self-defence."

Binns, an English Assistant-Commissioner of Agriculture, who knew the sister country well, in the second volume of his *Miseries, &c., of Ireland* (1837), observes:—

"I might, by referring to authentic sources of information, draw a series of terrific pictures of persecution, intolerance, and desolation [in Ireland] to which it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find parallels in the history of any nation not absolutely barbarous. It becomes us, who are, in some degree, responsible for the misdeeds of our predecessors, and are certainly bound to repair the evils they have effected,—it becomes us, I repeat, to bear constantly in mind that ever since her connection with Great Britain, Ireland has been a grievously oppressed country; that for the ignoble purpose of extinguishing her religion, and seizing the property of its votaries, she has been deprived of those political privileges which were her birthright, and which, sooner or later, she will possess; that so far from the Irish being a turbulent people, they are made so by circumstances under the control of England; and that, dissatisfied as they are and have been—

“the wrongs they have endured, the insults they have suffered, would have justified a course of conduct incomparably more violent than any which Ireland in her wildest moments, in her fiercest paroxysms of excitement, has displayed. . . . It cannot certainly be denied that, systematically and wickedly oppressed as the Irish are, to rise in self-defence is at least a natural course of proceeding, however fearful in its consequences.”

The man who would venture to say a good word for the *Times* in this month of May 1889, after the collapse which has lately taken place before the Royal Commission, must expect to find himself severely reproached by indignant Liberals and Nationalists alike throughout the United Kingdom. Truth, however, obliges the present writer to acknowledge that he has in course of recent researches come across many leading articles in the columns of the *Times* of the last forty years, in reference to Ireland, which reflect honour upon some of the writers in that journal. It has not been found possible to make room for any considerable number of examples of the kind, but a few thoroughly outspoken passages from those articles will be found scattered through these pages. On the 30th of May 1850, for instance, the *Times*, referring to a recent agrarian murder in Tipperary, gave utterance to the following scathing denunciation of Irish landlords:—

“The murder of Mr. Mauleverer is the hideous result of some fearful wrong. . . . If the proprietors of the soil, in maintaining the rights which the law has given them, thus recklessly inflict misery without stint upon the helpless and unfortunate peasantry—if they say that, without the perpetration of barbarities which would disgrace a Turkish Pasha, their rents cannot be collected—if they are to bring in the attorney-multiplying process, and with process multiplying costs, and reducing the peasantry to hopeless slavery, and if they are thus to convert the country into a battlefield for the landlord, and process-servers, and bailiffs, and sheriffs, and sheriffs-officers on the one side, and the furious peasantry and banded assassins on the other, then we say it is the bounden duty of the legislature boldly to interfere, and either to enforce upon the present landlords the duties, while it maintains the rights of property, or to . . . create a new landed

“proprietary, whose intelligence and wealth will enable them to secure the peace of society, and thus lay the foundation of national prosperity.”

Again, the *Times* of the 3rd of May 1856 published a leader on Irish evictions taking place that year in Galway county, which conveys some idea of the nature of the provocation daily tempting the Irish peasant to passionate outbursts of crime and outrage :—

“It appears,” observes the *Times*, “that a Mr. Pollock has purchased estates in the West of Ireland occupied by about 500 tenants, whose families make up altogether a population of 2,500 souls. This gentleman appears to be seized with a perfect mania of eviction. He has issued notices to quit to the whole of these unfortunate people, not one of whom is in arrear with his rent, and all of whom are most anxious to remain on the land which they regard with the affection so strongly felt and desperately clung to by the Irish peasant. But it is the will of the new lord of the soil to change its destination from arable to pasture, and having come to this conclusion for financial reasons, he clears away the human encumbrance from his land with as little remorse as he would weeds or stones, a mortgage, a judgment, or an annuity. These miserable people represent that to many of them the change is certain death, and entreat the House of Commons to intervene on their behalf. Here is a case where every feeling of our nature is enlisted on the side of the poor tenants. They have faithfully discharged their contract, and are willing to do so for the future. They may have no right to maintain their tenancy, but the land they occupy was bought with the full knowledge of their occupation, and Parliament in affirmance of natural justice has repeatedly declared that the first charge upon land, more sacred than any individual proprietors can create, is the maintenance of its people. That is the principle of the Irish rate-in-aid. That is the principle of the Irish and English poor-law. But the Irish poor-law has no parochial law of settlement, and the evils, therefore, consequent upon pauperising a whole population are little felt by the landowner, being divided over the ratepayers of a large district, or several districts. In this case the House of Commons has declared it can do nothing. The evil is enormous. Such conduct is condemned equally by landlords and tenants.

"It shocks every feeling of humanity. It is a reproach to the civilisation of the age, and by so signally illustrating the abuses of property, tends to bring into discredit the institution of property itself, the groundwork of human society, the bond that holds communities together. The Irish peasant suffers almost as much by the miserable and squalid hovels in which he is compelled to live as by the heartless and cruel proceedings which drive him forth from them to beg, to perish, or to live idly in a union workhouse."

Parliament was impotent in this case to save the doomed people, the *Times* imagined. But Parliament, of which the ever alert Mr. Joseph Biggar was not then a member, was capable of rushing a bill through at a single sitting to spare this identical individual, Pollock, the infliction of accumulated fines, amounting in the aggregate to £70,000, to which he had rendered himself liable as a milk contractor to the local Irish workhouse, he being—odd as it may seem in the circumstances—a "guardian of the poor!" However, speaking in the House of Commons, on the 29th of April 1856, Mr. Disraeli thus commented on the Pollock clearances:—

"The exercise of rights under the law [of ejectment] as described [in the course of debate] was most intolerable in a Christian nation. . . . If there was anything which could raise a prejudice against the Encumbered Estates Court it would be, that it gave to strangers who might even be non-resident the opportunity, if they thought fit, for depopulating large districts."

Lord John Russell was not perhaps so powerful a minister as Sir Robert Peel, but he was much more inclined to be just to Ireland. In his *Recollections* (1875) he observes:—

"Thousands of human beings, who from their wretched huts had swarmed to the elections, men with wives and helpless children, were rooted out as noxious weeds when they had served their purpose as ladders whereby their landlords might climb to wealth and power. They were now useless instruments, and hundreds of them were driven out in the cold days or bleak nights of winter, their miserable cabins levelled with the ground, and they themselves, scantily clothed, left

“to struggle with the inclemency of the elements, to die by the roadside, or to perish of famine after weeks of suffering and exhaustion. Is it ‘the fickleness, the perversity, and the levity of Irishmen’ that have caused the great mass of the people to recollect with pain and with resentment the heedless laxity with which their freeholds were bestowed upon them, and the cruelty with which they were driven out, when their votes were no longer available, to pine and to perish? Or is it not rather a proof that the people have been ill-governed? Is it wonderful that such injuries, apparent benefits so fallacious, real sufferings so undeserved, should have sunk deeply into their minds, and created a feeling of revenge against which the loungee in St. James’s may protest while he repeats, after the London newspaper, a declamation against ‘the fickleness, the perversity, the levity of Irishmen?’”

There is another English minister whose speech should find a place here, though it is not quite in the order of date. Mr Horsman, at one time Chief Secretary for Ireland, said in the House of Commons (1850):—

“It was all very well to speak of the ‘rights of property,’ but ‘were there no rights of humanity or rights of life? If they went to first principles, who would deny that property was for the benefit of all, not the few? There was no law which told ‘human beings they should die in hundreds.’”

But Lords Hartington and Salisbury say there is, and they treat English and Scottish public opinion to the contrary with sovereign contempt. An Oxford undergraduate, Mr. Harrison, was lately in the clutches of the magistrates and police in Donegal for having, according to the *Times*—“persisted in ‘putting in loaves of bread, after being warned not to do so,” to save a considerable number of evicted and besieged men, women, and children from actual starvation within the humble dwellings built with their own hands, but in which they are at this moment declared, by a legal fiction, to be trespassers. And Mr. Conybeare, an English M.P., has since been sent to prison likewise for the same singular offence. Meanwhile many additional witnesses might be quoted to connect agrarian crime in Ireland with misery and oppression, as, for instance, Lord

Granard, Major Warburton, Sir Matthew Barrington, Colonel Shaw Kennedy, Sir John Howley, Mr. Piers Gale, Mr. Tompkins Brew, Lord Powerscourt, Judge Moore, Mr. Sylvanus Jones, Mr. Drummond, Sir William Somerville, &c., all of whom were either landlords, judges, magistrates, crown solicitors, or other persons in responsible positions, and nearly all of whom gave explicit and emphatic evidence on the subject before English Parliamentary Committees or Royal Commissions, between 1823 and 1839. It is wholly impossible, however, to find room for more than the bare mention of the fact within the limits of a publication of this kind. Where heavy oppression is united with extreme poverty, and especially where, as in Ireland, the poverty is directly referable to the oppression, there must always be found a hideous progeny of crime resulting from so unhappy a union. It is inevitable that it should be so, since the wretched criminal knows from long experience that it is the only consideration which weighs in the mind of the oppressor to mitigate his cruelties. In the third volume of his *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, Mr. Froude has boldly delivered himself on the subject as follows :—

“The landlord may become a direct oppressor. He may care nothing for the people, and have no object but to squeeze the most that he can out of them fairly or unfairly. The Russian government has been called despotism, tempered with assassination. In Ireland landlordism was tempered by assassination. . . . Every circumstance combined in that country to exasperate the relations between landlord and tenant. The landlords were, for the most part, aliens in blood and in religion. They represented conquest and confiscation, and they had gone on from generation to generation with an indifference for the welfare of the people which would not have been tolerated in England or Scotland. The law had to interfere at last to protect the peasantry in the shape of Mr. Gladstone’s Land Act—the best measure, perhaps the only good measure, which has been passed for Ireland for the last 200 years.”

CHAPTER XIII.

WHO AND WHERE IN IRELAND ARE THE ASSASSINS?

“It was not among the Celts of Ireland that agrarian crime began. It was in a population, the population of Tipperary, dashed with a stronger and more vivacious blood, that the spirit of resistance arose.”—GLADSTONE.

MANY eminent writers on Irish subjects have pointed out the curious fact to which Mr. Gladstone here gives expression, that assassination had its origin with the descendants of the Cromwellian settlers in Ireland. In the second volume of his *England in the Eighteenth Century* Mr. Lecky observes:—

“A proneness to crimes of combination has been one of the worst and most distinctive evils of modern Irish life. But that proneness has been nowhere more conspicuous than in counties where the inhabitants are chiefly descended from Englishmen; it has not been a characteristic of other Celtic nations; and it is a curiously significant fact that it has never been shown among the great masses of Irishmen who are congregated in England, the United States, and the Colonies, though in other respects their moral character has often deteriorated.”

Sir Cornewall Lewis, in his *Crime and Disturbance in Ireland*, is induced to favour the same view, as the result of his own investigations on the subject:—

“There is a great difference,” he says, “in the physical appearance of the peasantry in different parts; the Celtic blood is purest in the mountains of Kerry and Galway. On the other hand, in Kilkenny and Tipperary, the peasantry have not the Celtic stamp strongly marked. . . . Yet Tipperary

"is the most disturbed county in Ireland, and Kilkenny one of the worst."

Mr. O'Connor Morris, who has been already quoted in these pages as an authority on the Land Question in Ireland, observes in his *Letters* addressed to the *Times* (1868-70):—

"It is a most significant fact that agrarianism has always been most active in districts disturbed for ages by civil strife, and by violent changes in the ownership of land, in which an infusion of Teutonic blood has, without recasting, added fierceness and energy to the character of the Celt. . . . Excepting Wexford, agrarianism in the south of Ireland has prevailed in the counties abounding in English blood; it is, in truth, alien to the genius of the aboriginal race."

It is worth observing that our English writers do sometimes feel a glow of admiration for those Cromwellian descendants of vivacious blood, when an iniquitous land system has driven them to wreak extremest vengeance on the Irish landlord. It will be remembered how Macaulay takes not a little pride in those deeds of assassination in which the oppressed Saxons indulged in England after the Norman Conquest. The following extract from an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, of the 22nd of January 1872, supplies another illustration of the same tendency, in regard to Irish agrarian crime in the nineteenth century:—

"It is curious to distinguish the thoroughly Celtic offences of counties like Kerry from the Anglo-Celtic crimes of the more central and less purely Irish parts of the island. The southern and western parts of Ireland are the most purely Celtic; Tipperary and Wexford, Meath and Westmeath, King's County and Queen's County, have had a certain infusion of English settlers. And just in these very counties has landlord-shooting always been most prevalent. The evictions to which the Celts of the South and West submitted with tears and lamentations, the farmers of Tipperary and Westmeath resented with muskets from behind a hedge."

But patience, in Ireland, is like other Irish virtues, its own reward. Kerry, for example, is one of those purely Celtic counties referred to by Sir Cornwall Lewis and the *Daily Tele-*

graph, which has exhibited it in a remarkable degree. How is it that this county has at length lost its typical virtue? Mr. O'Connor Morris thus explains the manner in which the Celtic peasant of Kerry has been rewarded for his exercise of that virtue which his priest instructs him is one of the "twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost":—

"With very large and honourable exceptions, the peasantry of Kerry have made Kerry what it is, have enclosed the country, in part reclaimed it, and covered it with dwellings made by themselves; and yet, save in comparatively few instances, they are mere tenants-at-will with an annual possession. . . . The state of things existing in Kerry and elsewhere, in which the occupiers of the soil have acquired rights in it, by expending on it the industry of years, yet are liable to be driven from it at a few months' notice; in which what are vast moral claims of property are not supported even by safe possession; in which titles to things in the peasant's mind especially sacred—the home he has made, the field he has enclosed, the boundary he has drawn—are exposed to destruction by the stroke of a pen; this extending over nine-tenths of a district is, in my judgment, not to be justified; and at this point all that can be said for the land system of Ireland breaks down in argument."

If the Kerry peasant had been endowed with an infusion of a stronger and more vivacious blood, like his half-brother in Tipperary, there is no reason to doubt that the rack-renting landlord's *posse* would not have been permitted quite so free a hand in wielding the crowbar in the former county; because, as Mr. Froude has expressed it, Irish landlordism, like Russian despotism, "is tempered by assassination." It is the fashion with some persons to speak of the Celt as though his was a specially vindictive nature. But the passages to be found in this volume, referring to the evictions which have proceeded unchecked in the Scottish Highlands for more than a century, afford a fresh proof that this is not so. Even ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland may now be heard expressing the very natural regret that their people have been so patient with their persecutors in the past—a happy omen for the future.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW IN IRELAND.

"I have said this, and I will say it again in this House, that there are many cases in Ireland in which the law-makers are far more responsible, and far more guilty, than the law-breakers."—GLADSTONE.

REFERENCE has already been made to the substantial difference between the laws of England and Ireland, as, for example, in the case of a certain Act of Parliament in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VII., and the Law of Settlement of the reign of Charles II., which might have been effectually applied to stop the cruel evictions which have taken place in the latter kingdom during the present century. The Law of Settlement checked the clearance system in England, by compelling the evicting landlord to maintain the evicted families at his own expense. In Ireland, on the other hand, when a district is laid waste, the evicted, to escape death by starvation, are driven to take refuge in the workhouse, often at a long distance, and the landlord's humble, unoffending neighbours are taxed to support his wretched victims there. These various Acts have scarcely been ignored by successive Governments on the score of antiquity, since an older statute, for the arrest of "night-walkers," of Edward III., who flourished a century and a half earlier (1330) than Henry, has of late years been revived and actually put in force against highly respectable people, including ladies who exhibited too keen a sympathy with the victims of landlord oppression in Ireland. In the House of Commons, on the 29th of March last, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, in answer to Mr. W. A. Macdonald, said that Mr. P. J. Conlan, proprietor of a Carlow newspaper, was prosecuted for publishing incitements to subjects of her Majesty to violate the law of the land

(meaning coercive and exceptional law), and he was ordered to give bail, or in default to be imprisoned. The Justices acted in this matter, he said, under a statute of Edward III. Indeed, the contrast is striking in other respects as well. The reign of Edward III. was marked by the enactment of more important laws in England than the whole of those passed since the Conquest. Trial by jury began to supersede other forms of trial, and Justices of the Peace were introduced for the first time. Now, five hundred years after his death, in one important portion of the dominions of her Majesty, Queen Victoria, trial by jury for political offences, unless it be a packed jury, is practically discarded; the ancient office of a Justice of the Peace, such as it was in Ireland, is virtually suspended, if not abolished; and law—exceptional and coercive law—is administered by paid magistrates. These salaried officials were, as a class, described some years back in the second volume of the *Journals* of Mr. Nassau Senior, on the unexceptionable authority of Lord Rosse, as “being generally elderly *roués*, with broken “fortunes and damaged reputations, who are made stipendiaries “because their patrons do not venture to make them anything “else.” Yet the office of Resident, paid Magistrate is one of the highest importance, as may be gathered from the following extract from a letter in the *Times* of January 6, 1886, from Earl Cowper, ex-Viceroy of Ireland, who was certainly in a position to know:—

“In Ireland all local matters are really managed through the “instrumentality of the Resident Magistrate, and the Resident “Magistrate is in constant communication with the Castle. “This state of things has partly arisen from the helpless nature “of the Irish, and has partly contributed to prolong that help- “lessness. A hateful system of bureaucratic government is the “result—hateful in itself, and only rendered tolerable in my “time by the large-mindedness and fairness, as well as industry “and skill, of the eminent man [Sir Robert Hamilton] who “then filled the post of permanent Under-Secretary.”

What Englishman is there, if he have not entirely surrendered his judgment and influence to the promotion of mere party inte-

rests, who is not ashamed of the disgraceful, continuous scuffle now taking place daily between these magistrates and the people in Ireland? One is painfully reminded at the present moment of the warnings uttered by Edmund Burke on this very subject towards the close of the last century. Alas! how ineffectual have they not proved to inspire our rulers with wisdom or even common sense:—

“The people have no interest in disorder,” observes Burke. “When they do wrong it is their error and not their crime. “But with the governing power of the State it is far otherwise; “they certainly may act ill by design, as well as by mistake.” And he quotes Sully, the great French Minister of another generation, to the same effect,—“*Pour la populace ce n’est jamais par envie d’attaquer qu’elle se soulève, mais par impatience de souffrir.*” “Nations,” Burke continues, “are not primarily governed by “laws; less by violence. . . . Nations are governed by the “same methods and on the same principles by which an individual without authority is often able to govern those who “are his equals or superiors by a knowledge of their temper “and a judicious management of it—I mean, when public “affairs are steadily and quietly conducted; not when Government is nothing but a continued scuffle between the magistrate “and the multitude, in which sometimes the one and sometimes “the other is uppermost, in which they alternately yield and “prevail in a series of contemptible victories and scandalous “submissions.”

Irish magistrates, whether paid or unpaid, have an unfortunate reputation in English literature. In his *Irish History and Irish Character* Mr. Goldwin Smith observes of them:—

“The descendants of the Cromwellian landowners [of Ireland] “became probably the very worst upper class with which a “country was ever afflicted. . . . Their drunkenness, their blasphemy, their ferocious duelling, left the squires of England “far behind. . . . Not a century has passed since these ruffians “and tyrants filled the Seat of Justice in Ireland,”—where they used frequently to punish the people by illegal imprisonment in their (the “ruffians’”) own houses, Mr. Smith might have further added.

Arthur Young, in Part II. of his *Tour in Ireland* (1777), shows that, in his day even, Irish Government lay very much

in the hands of the magistrates, just as Lord Cowper testifies it to be the case a century later :—

“The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of Justices of the Peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he [the justice] will infallibly be ‘called out.’ Where manners are in conspiracy against law, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? . . . By what policy the Government of England can for so many years have permitted such an absurd system to be matured in Ireland, is beyond the power of plain sense to discover.”

When Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, had surrendered his command in the County Limerick, preparatory to his departure for the Peninsula in 1808, he left behind him, for his successor, Brigadier-General Lee, an official letter, dated Cork, July 7th, in that year, which is a curious commentary on the characteristics of Irish landlords of the period. Of all the magistrates and persons of influence in the entire county, he is only able to name three to whom he could specially refer Lee for trustworthy information, viz., Chief Baron O’Grady, Mr. Dickson, a late High Sheriff, and Colonel Vereker, M.P. for the City of Limerick. Speaking of reported outrages generally, Sir Arthur Wellesley said :—

“It frequently happens that disturbances exist only in a very small degree, and probably only partially, and that the civil power is fully adequate to get the better of them. At the same time, the desire to let a building to Government for a barrack, the desire to have troops in the county, either on account of the increased consumption of the necessaries of life, or because of the increased security which they would give to that particular part of the country, would occasion a general rise in the value and rent of land, which probably at that moment might be out of lease—or in some instances the desire to have the yeomen called out on permanent duty—occasions a representation that the disturbances are much more serious than the facts would warrant. Upon these

“occasions letter after letter is written to the commanding officer, and to Government; the same fact is repeated through many different channels; and the result of an inquiry is, generally, that the outrage complained of is by no means of the nature or of the extent which has been stated. The obvious remedy for this evil, and that which is generally resorted to, is to call for information on oath of the transactions which are complained of. But this remedy is not certain, for it frequently happens that the information on oath are equally false with the original representations.”

A very general impression prevails that there is an exceptional disproportion between the number of committals and convictions of persons charged with crime in Ireland, as compared with England. An Irish judge of this period has explained how it occurred in his time. Mr. Justice Fletcher addressed to the Grand Jury of Wexford, in 1814, a charge teeming with specimens of magisterial iniquity. How he escaped conspiracy and prosecution for his courageous outspokenness has not been explained. Two of his colleagues on the bench, Justices Fox and Johnson, had suffered degradation and ruin only ten years earlier, at the hands of the Government and the “garrison,” for daring to attempt to bring to book two powerful Irish magistrates, viz., Lords Abercorn and Enniskillen, who had been charged with conniving at financial fraud and murder, respectively:—

“Here let me solicit your particular attention,” observes Mr. Justice Fletcher to the Grand Jurors, “to some of the most grievous mischiefs, flowing from the misconduct of certain magistrates. One is occasioned by an excessive eagerness to crowd the gaols with prisoners, and to swell the calendars with crimes. Hence the amazing disproportion between the number of committals and convictions—between accusation and evidence—between hasty suspicion and actual guilt. Committals have been too frequently made out (in other counties) upon light and trivial grounds, without reflecting upon the evil consequences of wresting a peasant (probably innocent) from the bosom of his family—immuring him for weeks or months in a noisome gaol, amongst vicious companions. He is afterwards acquitted, or not prosecuted, and returns a lost man, both in health and morals, to his ruined

“and beggared family. This is a hideous but common picture. . . . Gentlemen, another deep-rooted cause of immorality has been the operation of the County Presentment Code of Ireland—abused, as it has been, for the purpose of fraud and speculation. Will you not be astonished, when I assure you, that I have had information judicially from an upright country gentleman and Grand Juror of unquestionable veracity in a western county, that in the general practice not one in ten of the accounting affidavits was actually sworn at all? Magistrates have signed and given away printed forms of such affidavits in blank, to be filled up at the pleasure of the party. This abuse produced a strong representation from me to the Grand Jury, and had I known the fact in time I would have made an example of those magistrates who were guilty of so scandalous a dereliction of duty. Another source of immorality may be traced in the Registry of Freeholds. Oaths of registration are taken, which, if not perjury, are something very near it. The tenantry are driven to the hustings, and there collected like sheep in a pen, they must poll for the great undertaker, who has purchased them by his jobs; and this is frequently done, with little regard to conscience or duty, or real value for the alleged freehold.”

The following brief narrative illustrates in a striking manner the different ideas which govern the landowners in Ireland and England. Captain Drummond, R.E., a Scotchman, went to Dublin with Lord Mulgrave in 1835, as Under-Secretary for Ireland. On the 22nd of May 1838, in reply to an application for some further coercive measures against the peasantry of Tipperary, he wrote a letter of refusal to the magistrates of that county in which he gave expression to the elementary truth that—“property has its duties as well as its rights;”—an axiom well understood and every day cheerfully acted upon by the great body of English landowners. That the Tipperary magistrates and landlords thought differently of it will not surprise any one who follows the course of events in Ireland. Lord Donoughmore, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, to whom the letter was officially addressed, decided, with the approval of his brother magistrates, to suppress it. On the motion of Mr. Hume, however, it was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and being reprinted, was disseminated

throughout Ireland. It created considerable excitement amongst all classes; but by the magistrates, *i.e.*, the landlords, it was characterised as an unfeeling and deliberate insult. Shortly afterwards, Lord Donoughmore stated the reason for its suppression to a Committee of the House of Lords. He said:—

“I considered the reply of such a nature I was very unwilling to make it public” (and Lords Glengall, Hawarden, and Lismore, his brother magistrates in the county, concurred in this view).—“Your lordship considered it a dangerous thing,” he was asked by the Committee, “with regard to the landowners of the ‘country?’”—“I considered it of that nature,” he replied.—“Will your lordship have the goodness to point out the passages ‘which appeared to you to have that tendency?’”—“The part ‘to which I particularly objected was this:—‘Property has its ‘duties as well as its rights; to the neglect of these duties in ‘times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of ‘society in which such crimes take their rise.’”

Drummond’s memory is revered in Ireland. A beautiful statue, by Hogan, paid for by popular subscription, stands in the Dublin City Hall to attest the fact. The story of his valuable life has been admirably told by Mr. R. Barry O’Brien in a volume published by Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. But the Donoughmore incident would be incomplete without an “addendum.” The descendants of the Cromwellian landowners, who filled the Seat of Justice in Ireland, to whom Mr. Goldwin Smith refers in another page, abounded in Tipperary; where faction-fighting was systematically fostered and encouraged by them for a selfish purpose of their own. The late Sir John Howley, Chairman of the County, succeeded after much exertion in repressing the barbarous custom, for which he received the thanks of William IV. He has left a singular record, which will be found in the learned work of Professor Sigerson, entitled *Modern Ireland* (Longmans & Co.), of the difficulties he encountered from the magistrates in the discharge of this duty. They felt it to be their interest to keep alive the bitter animosities engendered by the system, with a view to divert the minds of the miserable peasantry from brooding over their grievous wrongs. Even in charges of murder and manslaughter

arising out of the custom, they urged upon the Chairman, "the necessity of inflicting only a mere nominal punishment" for the crime :—

"The greater part of the magistrates," observes Sir John, "instead of assisting me, as I had a right to expect, in the praiseworthy and humane effort to put down faction-fighting, did everything they safely could to thwart me, and thereby keep alive this shameful, detestable custom. . . . When I asked what they meant by 'necessity,' they frankly declared they could not live in the country unless the system of faction-fighting were kept up, as they believed it was necessary for their own safety to have the people divided."

Sir John refusing to be a party to this wicked perversion of justice, the magistrates actually seceded in a body from the bench, having failed to intimidate him into acquiescence with their views by threats of moving him out of the chair.

Finally, Lord Rosse, an influential peer, who was Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and belonged to the official and Castle circles, had in 1862 a conversation with Mr. Nassau Senior, which will be found recorded as follows in that gentleman's *Journals*. Lord Rosse said :—

"One mode of improving the magistracy would be to get rid of the stipendiary magistrates. No appointments are so infamously jobbed; no special education, no talents, no character seem to be thought necessary for a stipendiary magistrate. Half of those whom we have had here have been habitual drunkards; more than a half of them were unable to show themselves on any day except a Sunday. (The system of imprisonment for debt was not then abolished.) We called them Sunday birds; there was one at Shinrone whose dead body was seized by his butcher, who would not suffer it to be buried until his bill had been paid. The present man is the only good one we have had. . . . I would reform the stipendiary magistracy. On this institution the security of the country mainly depends. As soon as an outrage has been committed it is the duty of the stipendiary magistrate to collect into a focus the slight and transitory indications which, if acutely perceived and sedulously followed up, will lead to detection. No function requires more zeal, vigour, and intelligence. The men selected for it are generally elderly

“*roués*, with broken fortunes and damaged reputations, who are made stipendiaries because their patrons do not venture to make them anything else. I have implored Lord Lieutenant after Lord Lieutenant not to allow so important an office to be thus jobbed away. All I could get from any one of them were promises that the appointments should be as little bad as they could make them.”

One shrinks from the invidious task of sketching the character of Irish Stipendiary (Removable) Magistrates since the date of Mr. Nassau Senior's publication in 1862, though the materials at hand are ample for the purpose. It is described in the newspapers from day to day, sometimes twice daily. They have undergone a process of considerable development as instruments of the present government in Ireland. Whether that development has been for the better, or otherwise, the public are now, perhaps, in a position to judge for themselves. One thing is certain, these Government officials are never punished for their misdeeds, and the people have thus been taught by long experience to look upon the scenes enacted in their Courts as little better than a travesty of justice. It has always been the same, and is likely to continue so while appointments to the office are, as Lord Rosse expressed it, “so infamously jobbed.” Half a century earlier, in 1812, Wakefield, an English traveller in Ireland, referred to the Irish magistrates as follows in his *Account of Ireland* :—

“When insurrections take place in Ireland the whole blame is attributed to the people, although they most commonly occur from the corruption or the neglect of the magistracy. It is seldom, however, that the hand of justice is raised to punish *them* for their misconduct. The accounts of disturbances never reach my ears from Ireland without exciting a wish that an inquiry might be instituted into the manner in which magistrates conduct themselves on such occasions.”

It is also painfully true that even the superior judges in Ireland are so greatly in excess of the requirements of justice that fully one-half of them might be dispensed with altogether, except for the vested interests in jobbery of the patronage-mongers in Dublin Castle.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FORFEITURES AND PLANTATIONS.

"I say, where there is this misery going on for centuries after a conquest, "acquiescence in the conquest cannot take place ; a sense of permanent "settlement and of the possessors' prescriptive title to their property "cannot spring up ; the conquered cannot blend themselves into one "nation with the conquerors."—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

HE who desires to understand the condition of Ireland must realise to himself the full import of the historical fact that all the rights of landed property rest on confiscations—not, be it remembered, upon confiscations of remote antiquity, like those which followed the coming of the Normans into England—but upon confiscations of comparatively recent date. Almost the entire property of the island is derived either from the settlement of Ulster by James the First, or the Cromwellian settlement of the rest of the country. The latter is the title of by far the greater portion. "Probably no man at the Irish Bar "has ever seen a devolution of title that did not commence "with a patent granting a forfeited estate," observed the late Mr. Isaac Butt, Q.C., M.P. Lord Clare said, speaking in the Irish House of Lords, that in the course of the seventeenth century the whole soil of Ireland had been confiscated at least once, a considerable portion of it three times ; *i.e.*, including the forfeitures succeeding the Revolution of 1688. But there was an earlier era of forfeitures than this. Speaking of the proceedings of the first Norman adventurers in Ireland, Sir John Davis says that all Ireland was cantonised among ten persons of the English nation ; "and though they had not gained possession "of one-third part of the whole kingdom, yet, in title, they "were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be

“granted to the natives.” Afterwards came the enormous forfeitures of the reign of Elizabeth. Her servants in Ireland did not dabble in the blood of youth and innocence without a purpose and the expectation of some huge rewards. And they were not disappointed. Leland, in the second volume of his *History of Ireland*, says that more than one-half of Ulster became vested in the Queen, “to be disposed of as most expedient for the interests and security of her government.” Edmund Spenser, who is a contemporary authority, puts it much higher, as may be found in the sixth volume of his works. Of the 9,000 ploughlands which Ulster contained, he represents all but four or five hundred as having escheated to her; with at least five-sixths of Connaught. As to Munster, at the time Spenser wrote, it would appear as if that province were already in the hands of her “undertakers;” while in Leinster, even, exceedingly large tracts, consisting of entire counties, were similarly circumstanced. And then there was the vile pretence of religion to sanction the iniquity, at a time when, according to Mr. Froude, no single man in the kingdom sincerely believed in the new creed. Sir William Herbert, writing from Kerry to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, in 1588, said—“Our pretext in the enterprise of plantation was to establish in these parts piety, justice, inhabitation, and civility, with comfort and good example to the parts adjacent. Our drift now is, being here possessed of land, to extort and make the state of things turbulent, and to live by prey and by pay.” 574,628 Irish acres (eight Irish acres are equal to thirteen English) of land in Munster were declared forfeited to the Crown on the fall of the Desmonds. This was parcelled out to “gentlemen undertakers” on certain conditions; one being that they were bound, within a limited time, to people their estates with, “well-affected Englishmen.” No native Irish were to be accepted as tenants, and every precaution was taken to prevent the English colonists amalgamating with them. Raleigh became an undertaker, and by a legal instrument, bearing the Queen’s name, dated from Greenwich, the last day of February 1586, he had given to him 42,000 acres of this land. Raleigh earned this property by some

terrible services. An Italian garrison, which had come to aid the Irish in Munster, having fallen into the power of the English, Leland describes what followed thus:—

“Wingfield was commissioned to disarm them, and when this service was performed an English company was sent into the fort. The Irish rebels found they were reserved for execution by martial law. The Italian general and some of the officers were made prisoners of war, but the garrison was butchered in cold blood; nor is it without pain that we find a service so horrid and detestable committed to Sir Walter Raleigh.”

Raleigh fared sadly later on. By the death of Elizabeth he lost a powerful friend. James I. regarded him with a dislike which he was at no pains to conceal. By the machinations of the second Cecil, an ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, who, to please Elizabeth, would have befriended him in the previous reign, he was now charged with complicity in a plot against the King. There was not a tittle of evidence to connect Raleigh with it; but, all the same, Coke, the prosecuting Attorney-General, stigmatised him as a “damnable atheist,” a “spider of hell,” and a “viperous traitor” to boot. He was sent to the Tower under sentence of death, where he languished, in sore straits, for thirteen years:—

“The desolator desolate,
The victor overthrown,
The arbiter of others’ fate,
A suppliant for his own.”

In the interval an ancestor of the present Marquis of Hartington, coming that way, neither looked on him nor passed him by, but readily took compassion on him. The good Samaritan was none other than Richard Boyle, “the great Earl of Cork.” With this introduction, Walpole, an English historian, in his *Short History of Ireland* (Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.), shall tell what happened on the road to Jericho, with an interesting biography of the compassionate giver:—

“He [Boyle] was the son of a Herefordshire squire, a man of very considerable ability, but utterly unscrupulous. Having

“found it advisable to absent himself from England by reason, “as his enemies say, of his ‘forgeries, rasings, and perjuries,’ “or because, as he himself puts it, ‘it pleased divine Providence to lead him into Ireland,’ ‘he arrived in Dublin in 1588 “ [being then twenty-two years of age], with little else in the “world but two suits of clothes, a diamond ring, a gold bracelet, “and £27, 3s. in money.’ He managed to wriggle himself “into the office of deputy-escheator of the lands of Munster, “under cover of which, by a series of frauds, he became possessed of a considerable extent of the forfeited Irish estates. “He was twice indicted for felony, and committed to prison in “Dublin six times in five years; but by his adroitness, and “the skilful use of bribes, he succeeded in cheating justice, “and becoming secretary to Sir George Carew. ‘God having “blessed him with a reasonable estate,’ as he piously says in “his memoir, his new patron, the President of Munster, made “his fortune for him. He advised and assisted him to advance “money to the amount of some £1,500 to Sir Walter Raleigh “on the security of his vast grant of land in Cork and Waterford. The mortgage was foreclosed, and Raleigh’s widow “and children afterwards complained, in a fruitless petition to “the Crown, that the estates had been ‘juggled away.’ Carew “introduced him [Boyle] to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Queen’s “Surveyor-General, whose daughter he married; and he knighted “him on the day of his wedding. Protected by Carew, Essex, “and Cecil, with all of whom he was careful to ingratiate himself, he escaped the reward of his misdeeds, and was successively created Baron Youghal, Viscount Dungarvan, Earl of “Cork, and a Privy Councillor.”

The reader may feel an interest in being reminded that, whereas Raleigh suffered a violent death at the hands of the public executioner on the 29th of October 1618, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, “the great Earl of Cork,” his benefactor, died quietly in his bed in 1644, at the ripe old age of seventy-eight. Such is the reward of a pious life and a charitable deed! But there is an Irish biographer of Richard Boyle, Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., who brings the story down to date, so to speak, by reminding us how the Duke of Devonshire has, by means of a long purse, even deprived the people of their fishery rights on the Blackwater. Mr. Healy indulges in somewhat plainer

speaking than the English historian, and unkindly omits all acknowledgment of the pious aspirations of his subject. Otherwise, except for an unimportant financial discrepancy, they are in substantial agreement. In his pamphlet, *A Word for Ireland*, Mr. Healy writes:—

“Sir W. Raleigh got some 42,000 acres (exclusive, as usual, of waste, bog, and mountain) out of the plunder of the Earl of Desmond’s territories. A London judge’s clerk, named Richard Boyle, who had graduated in Ireland as a forger, a horse-thief, and conniver of murder,¹ was raised to the Deputy Escheatorship of Munster, about 1590. Raleigh being in prison and straitened, Boyle offered him £5,000 for his 42,000 acres, which being accepted, he paid Raleigh £500 on account, and swindled him out of the balance. Later on, Boyle having now become Earl of Cork, got from James I. patents for all his plunder—the parchments of which, his historian mentions, covered a hall forty-eight feet long by three feet wide. He married all his children into English aristocratic families, and the Duke of Devonshire in this way got his County Cork and Waterford estates, out of which he draws some £30,000 a year² for land which cost his ancestor Boyle £500. His Grace also now claims the fishery rights of the Blackwater from the town of Lismore to the sea at Youghal, some twenty miles, by virtue of the patent of James I. to this horse-thief; and in the course of eleven years of litigation, and nearly a dozen trials, has put the unfortunate fishermen of the district to thousands of pounds expense to assert his claims to the river.”

Now, how does the Duke of Devonshire discharge the duties of property, to which Lord Hartington is the heir, while exacting its rights? Well, he fails in the very first condition that is essential to the efficient discharge of those duties. *He is an absentee.* How would the English people around Chatsworth and Bolton Abbey take it if, like the Irish people around Lismore Castle, in the County Waterford, they never saw the face of their landlord; never heard the sound of his carriage

¹ Boyle had been engaged in better studies earlier at Cambridge and in the Middle Temple.

² £31,604, according to the Government valuation.

wheels; never saw the colour of his coin over the counter of the butcher, or the baker, or the shoemaker, in the neighbouring town or village? Yet such is the daily experience of the latter. But if the Duke of Devonshire does not put in an appearance at Lismore, one of the loveliest spots in the United Kingdom, his heir, Lord Hartington, does, indeed, occasionally visit Ireland. Alas! his visits are not arranged for any beneficent purpose in regard to the Devonshire estates; not directed to the South of Ireland, with a view to gladden the eyes of the Devonshire tenants. No, unhappily, Lord Hartington directs his steps to an opposite quarter of the kingdom. He goes amongst the Orangemen of Belfast, with the ignoble object of intensifying and perpetuating racial and sectarian animosities; to stir up afresh the poisoned founts of bitterness which have, generation after generation, marred all the efforts of good men to reconcile Ireland with England. He, the leader of a party and a responsible statesman, condescends to join hands with the Chamberlains and the Churchills, unprincipled and unscrupulous as they have proved themselves, in this flagitious and abominable occupation. In his very last speech at Belfast, in October, 1888, Lord Hartington resorted "to language of outrageous violence," as it was styled by Mr. Gladstone, at Bingley Hall, a few weeks afterwards:—

"Lord Hartington," observes Mr. Gladstone, "said at Belfast "on the 19th of October that the present struggle began as a "struggle between union and separation. That was bad enough; "but according to him it has got gradually worse since, and "it is now—these are his own words—'a struggle of honesty "against dishonesty, of order against disorder, of truth against "falsehood, and of loyalty against treason.' And in the same "speech Lord Hartington said that the party with which we "are connected is nearly one-half of the voting power of the "country; so that, according to him, nearly one half of his "countrymen support dishonesty against honesty, disorder "against order, falsehood against truth, and treason against "loyalty."

Little did Mr. John Morley imagine, when writing as follows

in the *Nineteenth Century* of November 1882, that his earnest and indignant words in regard to Irish absentees would one day be found to fit to a nicety the conduct of one of the colleagues then sitting by his side at the Cabinet Council:—

“Great lords, who never go near their estates from year’s end to year’s end,” observes Mr. Morley, “are very edifying on the ruin that will befall the helpless tenantry if they are left to themselves. With virtuous indignation, the class that has for generations been in the habit of spending its Irish rents to the tune of millions a year in any place in the world except Ireland, solemnly warns the tenants that they are depleting the country of its capital. It was no Radical, but the immortal Tory who wrote *Waverley*, of whom his biographer tells us that when he visited Ireland in 1825, when the landlords had things all their own way, his very ‘heart was sickened’ by the widespread manifestations of the wanton and reckless profligacy of human mismanagement and the tyrannous selfishness of absenteeism.”

One does not of course know whether the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Hartington mean to keep their hold upon the fruits of the Raleigh foreclosure until such time as the descendant of the Cecil who unjustly shut up Raleigh in the Tower¹ shall be enabled to provide the necessary funds out of the pockets of the British taxpayer to buy them and their class out of Ireland. Anyhow, if they had lived in the 28th year of Henry VIII., instead of being “bought out,” they would by the Act of Absentees in that year be simply turned out, without a shilling compensation for their loss of £31,000 a year, as “enemies of the Commonwealth of England,”—as was the case with the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Berkeley, and others in that reign. But in these days Parliament, despising the wisdom of our ancestors, regards the happiness of an absentee English duke and marquis of incomparably greater importance to the state than the contentment of a multitude of Irish peasants.

¹ Was Cecil a party to and beneficiary by Boyle’s swindle on Raleigh? His father became rich “by taking his neighbours’ goods,” according to Isaac Bannister (see Chapter XXX.).

CHAPTER XVI.

CONFISCATION AND PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

“Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword, rather than with the pen ; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers ; blows were the current coin given in payment ; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax.”—HERBERT SPENCER.

IN order to carry out this great revolution in land tenure in Ulster, royal commissions were issued to survey the country, and to inquire into titles. Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the great chiefs of the Northern province, had made their peace with James I., and settled down in their respective territories as loyal subjects. But the Government narrowly watched for an opportunity to destroy them, to carry out a new scheme of plantation. Rumours of threatened arrest, for the pretended plots mentioned by Edmund Burke in the next page, reached the chiefs, and they fled the country in terror of their lives. The plantation in Munster had been an acknowledged failure, on account of the enormous grants made to the undertakers ; an error which must be avoided in Ulster. Here again the natives were excluded as tenants, the new settlers being drawn from England and Scotland as in Munster. The corporation of London and the twelve city guilds obtained the entire county of Coleraine, on the condition that they maintained the forts of Culmore, Coleraine, and Derry. The unfortunate natives tried to argue that they had rights of inheritance which could not be forfeited by the attainder of their chieftains ; but Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General, a very able man, but a polished hypocrite, bade them be contented with the assurance that the

King meant to be "a father" to them, rather than a lord and master. Green, the historian, has enumerated the virtues of this friend of the fatherless. How often do we hear from heaven-born statesmen that nothing can be done—nothing should be done—for these persecuted Irish peasants, starving on insufficient or uncultivable land, except to deport them to a foreign country. Why should they, poor souls, ever have taken up their residences in the wilds of Donegal or Kerry or Mayo, in the midst of a savage bog, or on the sterile mountain side? Edmund Burke shall tell you the reason why, and that it was no voluntary act of theirs, God help them :—

"If we read Baron Finglas, Spenser, and Sir John Davis," he says, in a letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, "we cannot miss the true genius and policy of the English Government in Ireland before the Revolution, as well as during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth. . . . The original scheme was never deviated from for a single moment. Unheard of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms and of hostile statutes, and a regular series of operations were carried on, particularly from Chichester's time, in the ordinary courts of justice, and by special commissions and inquisitions; first under pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the Crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interests of the natives in their own soil, until this species of subtle ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence under Lord Strafford, it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641."

The English historian, Walpole, observes, in his *Short History of Ireland*, writing of the Expulsion of 1611 :—

"Slowly and sullenly the Irish gentry removed themselves and their belongings into the contracted locations to which they had been appointed, away from the 'fat lands' to the 'lean lands,' from the rich pasture to the barren moor. Slowly and sullenly the mass of the people followed them, thrust out of their homes, to find new refuges wherein to lay their heads; some amongst the servitors [a grade below the 'undertakers'], some in the 'lean lands,' some transplanted in gangs at the

“command of the Government into waste land, which no one wanted, in Munster and in Connaught. Exiled to make room for the planters, evicted, though promised security, they wandered forth bearing in their hearts a store of bitter hatred for the invaders who had broken faith with them; and yearning for the vengeance which they were to snatch in 1641.”

What were the causes of the Rebellion in that year, and what led up to it?—

“Upon the accession of James I. in 1603,” says Mr. Smiles, the author of *Self Help*, in his *History of Ireland*, “the penal laws enacted in the reign of Elizabeth were revived in all their original harshness. Sir Arthur Chichester, the new Lord Lieutenant, a man cruel and avaricious in his character, and eager to amass wealth and possessions, no matter in what manner, willingly seconded all the designs of the persecuting monarch. The Catholic chapels were shut up, and the most wanton oppressions and extortions were resorted to, such as fine, imprisonment, and deprivation of office, for enforcing attendance at the Protestant service. To put an end to all doubts, also as to James’s being favourable to religious toleration, he issued a proclamation, giving due notice to all concerned, of his thoroughly intolerant disposition and character. This singular proclamation commences thus:—‘Whereas, his Majesty is informed, that his subjects of Ireland had been deceived by a false report, that his Majesty was disposed to allow them liberty of conscience, and the free choice of a religion; he hereby declares to his beloved subjects of Ireland, that he will not admit of any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by such report,’ &c. And then the proclamation goes on to order the expulsion of the Catholic bishops, Jesuits, and all other ministers of the Catholic worship, and to prohibit altogether the exercise of the Catholic religion both in England and Ireland.”

Hallam, in the second volume of his *Constitutional History*, observes :—

“The primary causes of the rebellion are . . . to be found in the two great sins of the English Government, in the penal laws as to religion, which pressed on almost the whole people, and in the systematic iniquity which despoiled them of their possessions.”

And, again, in the third volume of the same work, he says :—

“The [English] Commons had, at the very beginning of the rebellion, voted that all the forfeited estates of the insurgents should be allotted to such as should aid in reducing the island to obedience; and thus rendered the war desperate on the part of the Irish.”

This is in complete agreement with Mr. Lecky's view of the subject. In his *Eighteenth Century* he says :—

“The rebellion only assumed its general character in consequence of the resolution of the English House of Commons, that no toleration should be henceforth granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland. It was this policy that drove the Catholic gentry of Ireland very reluctantly into rebellion. The rebellion was a defensive war, entered into in order to secure a toleration of the religion of the Irish people. . . . It may boldly be asserted that the statement of a general and organised massacre is utterly and absolutely untrue. As is almost always the case with popular risings, there were in the first outbreak of the rebellion some murders, but they were very few, and there was nothing whatever in the nature of a massacre. . . . The rebellion was not one due to any single cause, but it represented the accumulated wrongs and animosities of two generations. All the long train of agrarian wrongs from Mullaghmast to the latest inquisitions of Wentworth, all the long succession of religious wrongs from the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth to the Confiscation of the Irish College under Charles, contributed to the result.”

Who are they who fanned that rebellion into gigantic proportions ?—

“Whatever were the professions of the chief governors [Lords Justices],” observes Leland, in the third volume of his *History of Ireland*, “the only danger they really apprehended was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels. Extensive forfeitures were their favourite object and that of their friends.”

The Reverend Dr. Warner stigmatises the Lords Justices as “miscreants,” who had recourse to the rack, though against the law, with a view to extort confessions which they, the Lords

Justices themselves, had put into the mouths of their tortured victims; and by whose orders, "men, women, and children "were promiscuously slain."

Finally, Carte, in the first volume of his *Life of Ormonde*, explains the matter as follows:—

"There is too much reason to think that, as the Lords "Justices really wished the rebellion to spread, and more "gentlemen of estates to be involved in it, that the forfeitures "might be the greater, and a general plantation be carried on "by a new set of English Protestants all over the kingdom, to "the ruin and expulsion of all the old English and natives that "were Roman Catholics; so, to promote what they wished, "they gave out speeches upon occasions, insinuating such a "design, and that in a short time there would not be a Roman "Catholic left in the kingdom . . . extirpation [was] preached "for gospel."

The character of the Lords Justices, to whom was entrusted the government of Ireland during the absence—which was most frequently constant—of the Lord Lieutenant, may be inferred from a couple of specimens of the class. In the second volume of Ormonde's *Letters*, it is stated that—"Sir William Parsons "hath by late letters advised the governor to the burning of "corn, and to put man, woman, and child to the sword; and "Sir Adam Loftus hath written in the same strain." One of these, William Parsons, afterwards Sir William, was another upstart whose career resembled that of Boyle, his contemporary and colleague as a Privy Councillor:—

"An Englishman of low birth, and with no education beyond "that of reading and writing," observes Walpole, in his *Kingdom of Ireland*, "he had gone over to Ireland with £40 in his "pocket to seek his fortune. Having got into the service of "one Kenny, the escheator-general, and saved some money by "a combination of hard work and sharp practice, he married a "niece of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the surveyor-general, and in A.D. "1602 succeeded to that office, and became a commissioner of "the escheated lands in Ulster. Taking advantage of his "position he took care not to be left out in the allotment of "lands, obtaining 1890 acres in Tyrone and 2000 acres in

"Fermanagh alone. By these means and others still more scandalous, as in the case of the estates of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, he secured over 8000 acres and amassed an immense fortune. Having secured the patronage of Buckingham he set at defiance all accusations made against his proceedings, and in company with the Earl of Cork was one of the most influential members of the Privy Council. He was the ancestor of the Earls of Rosse of the first creation."

Parsons' proceedings in regard to the O'Byrnes of Wicklow were simply frightful. He entered into a conspiracy with a number of others (Sir Richard Graham, Sir James FitzPiers Fitzgerald, Sir Henry Belling, and Lord Esmond), to obtain a conveyance of O'Byrnes' land to themselves:—

"They accordingly," continues Walpole, "trumped up a charge against him and his five sons of corresponding with an outlawed gentleman of the family of Kavenagh. They lodged an information against them, on the testimony of one Thomas Archer, which they wrung from him by torture on a hot grid-iron, and that of three vagrant Irishmen who owed O'Byrne a grudge for his having issued his warrant against them as a justice of the peace. Two of the young O'Byrnes were thereupon confined in Dublin Castle, and Phelim and all the five were prosecuted at the Carlow assizes for treason. The grand jury threw out the bill, for which they were heavily fined by the Castle Chamber, and a fresh indictment was preferred at the Wicklow assizes. The grand jury was this time carefully packed with neighbouring undertakers to secure the finding of a true bill, and notorious convicted thieves whom Phelim had convicted at petty sessions were called as witnesses, and pardoned on giving evidence of the prisoners' guilt. The scandal was so abominable and glaring that Sir Francis Annesley and some other gentlemen took up the case and obtained a royal commission to inquire into the matter, which resulted in the O'Byrnes being set at liberty. Their estates, however, covering half the county of Wicklow, of which during the prosecution Parsons and Esmond had been put in possession by the Sheriff of Wicklow, were not restored to them, and the plot in that respect was eminently successful."

After all this, Parsons was made a Lord Justice, and it will not surprise any one to be told that the sept of the O'Byrnes

were amongst the first to rise in rebellion in 1641. That rebellion, if we are to believe Carte, he, Parsons, ardently desired and purposely stimulated in order to reap a new crop of confiscations.

Doctor, afterwards Sir William Petty, the ancestor of Lord Lansdowne, the present Governor-General of India, was another distinguished individual of the period, though he does not quite come up to the standard of Boyle and Parsons. He was Physician-General to the forces, and was employed to survey the confiscated lands in the time of the Commonwealth. Money was scarce in those days in the Irish military chest, and when Petty sent in his little bill he was allotted large parcels of the confiscated estates for his services instead, probably being privileged to select and survey them for himself. Anyhow, Carte, in the second volume of his *Life of Ormonde*, suggests that he was a man very capable of taking care of himself, and that he boasted of having witnesses, whom he was accused of suborning, "who would swear through a three-inch board." Within a few years he was the owner of 50,000 acres in Kerry alone, though his pay in 1659 was only 20s. a day. He died in the odour of sanctity, of course, or as he expresses it himself in his will—"in the practice of such religious worship as I find established by the law of my country." His present descendant is a typical Irish absentee landlord of the good old style, who evicts his tenants wholesale, levelling and burning their poor cabins, as at Luggacurran, built not by him, but by themselves, when they are unable to pay rack-rents for their holdings, and never subscribes a shilling towards relief funds in times of distress, either there or elsewhere, to save them from starvation. Of this latter fact there is, indeed, sad proof. The Reverend Mr. M'Cutchan, the Protestant Rector of Kenmare, stated to Sir Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P. (*New Views on Ireland*, Macmillan), that:—

"If the shopkeepers had not acted with greater humanity and forbearance than the landlord, five-sixths of Lord Lansdowne's tenants would have been absolutely ruined [during the distress of 1879-80 in Kerry]; and indeed," adds Sir Charles himself,

“to my observation, it did not seem that they were, in fact, far removed from ruin as it was.”

Is not this exercising all the “rights” without discharging any of the duties of property with a vengeance?

It may be worth while mentioning here that the “mandate” for his cruel proceedings, if he ever condescended to ask for it, which Cromwell carried to Ireland was due in great measure to the exaggerated reports which reached London of the slaughter of the Protestants in the rebellion of 1641. Sir John Temple, who profited largely by the confiscations which followed, was the prime offender of the period. He was in 1648 appointed a Commissioner of the Great Seal; in 1653, a Commissioner of Forfeited Estates; when he took care to be the recipient of large land grants for himself in the counties of Carlow and Dublin. He was afterwards made Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor of Ireland. He was, in fact, one of the vultures that, in the words of Mr. Goldwin Smith, “descended upon Ireland.” In 1646 this unscrupulous rascal, self-convicted, published a book in which it was represented that, within a period of two years—“above 300,000 British and other Protestants were cruelly murdered in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations.” He made no attempt to distinguish between murder and expulsion; he derived his information from depositions which Edmund Burke described as “rascally,” and which generally bear no date, are full of contradictions, and place the principal massacres at the outbreak of the rebellion, when all the evidence shows there was scarcely anything of the kind. Finally, his number of 300,000 is at least five times the total number of Protestants living in the country, outside of walled towns, where alone massacres took place. Various estimates of the true numbers were afterwards published from time to time. Rapin and the Long Parliament reduced them one half; Clarendon and Hume put them down to 40 or 50,000; others still further reduced the figures to 12 and 10,000 respectively, until at length a more modern authority than any, Dr. Cooke Taylor, a Protestant of Cromwellian family, “after a very careful

"examination of all the statements," believes that the number of persons killed by the insurgents was less than 5,000, and that about an equal number were slain by their opponents. The Reverend Dr. Warner, another Protestant writer, who is said by Walpole to have made "an especially careful investigation of the evidence," reckons the fallen at 4,028, and thinks that of those a small proportion only could have been "massacred." The Government were ultimately ashamed of Temple's lying publication, but unfortunately not before the evil work resulting from it was past recall. Indeed it is read by weak-minded persons even at this day. Of course Temple's distress over the publication in his later years must have been genuine enough, when he discovered that he had devised falsely to an extent which seriously interfered with his obtaining further perquisites at the Restoration. In Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland* there is the following curious statement on the subject:—

"Sir John Temple published his history of the Irish rebellion 'in the year 1646, by the direction of the Parliament party, which then prevailed, and to which, though long before in actual rebellion, he was always attached. The falsehoods it contains are so glaring, and numerous, that even the Government, in the year 1674, seems to have been offended, and himself ashamed of the republication of it. This we gather from a letter of Capel, Earl of Essex, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Secretary Coventry, of that date, wherein we find these words:—'I am to acknowledge yours of the 22nd of December, in which you mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland, at the beginning of the late war. Upon further inquiry I find Sir J. Temple, Master of the Rolls here (Ireland), author of that book, was this last year sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof; but he assures me, that he utterly denied it, and whoever printed it did it without his knowledge. This much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it were suspected, he had any share in publishing this new edition.' Stat. Let. Dub. ed. p. 2. His Lordship was, at this time, soliciting a grant of three (he would have it five) hundred pounds a year on the forfeited estates, for Sir John Temple, which he at last obtained

“(see these letters), and the Ministry seems to have made this “republishing of his history an objection, which his Lordship “thus endeavours to remove.”

The Rev. George Hill, a Protestant chronicler of this chapter of Irish history, sums up the sad results of the handiwork of James I., who deluded the Irish with false promises of being a “father” to them, through the agency of his Attorney-General—the Sir Richard Webster of the day—in the following impressive words in his *Plantation of Ulster*.—

“But the Paradise of plenty, if not of peace, to which these “strangers [who supplanted the natives] at times attained was “only secured by a very heavy and dreadful sacrifice of the “interests of Ireland as a nation, for to this settlement in Ulster “may be traced the awful scenes and events of the ten years’ “civil war commencing in 1641, the horrors of the revolutionary “struggle in 1690, and the re-awaking of these horrors in 1798. “The dragon’s teeth so plentifully sown in this Ulster Planta- “tion have indeed sprung up at times with more than usually “abundant growth, yielding their ghastly harvests of blood and “death on almost every plain, by almost every river-side, and “almost in every glen of our Northern province.”

The Irish people would indeed have short memories if they forgot all about the plantation of Ulster even at this day. It is not in human nature to forget the consequences which have flowed from that sweeping act of injustice. But recollection is one thing and covetousness another, and it may be said with absolute confidence that there is not an Irishman living at this moment who contemplates interference with the prescriptive rights of the descendants of the motley adventurers of the seventeenth century. That the Irish landlords, and the Ascendancy class generally, should harbour such a suspicion is natural enough, for their conscience must be burdened by a heritage of guilt. But no Englishman who regards truth and justice can peruse this story of proscription and confiscation in Ireland without feelings of profound sympathy and respect for the Irish people.

CHAPTER XVII.

PLANTATION AND TRANSPLANTATION.

"These fertile plains, that soften'd vale,
"Were once the birthright of the Gael;
"The stranger came with iron hand,
"And, from *our* fathers, reft the land."

—*Roderick Dhu.*

LORD CHANCELLOR CLARE, the colleague of Castlereagh, speaking in the Union debates in the Irish House of Lords, in February 1800, menacingly reminded the Anglo-Irish landlords opposing that measure, of their origin and the precarious nature of the title to their estates. The rebellion of 1641, after desolating the country for seventeen years, had terminated in the extinction of the principal families, and in nearly a total revolution of the property of Ireland. Upon the final adjustment of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, it appears by the Down Survey that 7,800,000 acres of land were set out by the Court of Claims, principally, if not entirely, to the exclusion of the old proprietors. With singular power Lord Clare depicted the iniquity of English confiscations in Ireland as follows:—

"Cromwell's first act was to collect all the native Irish who
"had survived the general desolation, and who had remained in
"the country, and to transplant them into the province of Con-
"naught, which had been completely depopulated and laid waste
"in the progress of the rebellion [of 1641]. They were ordered
"to retire thence by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the
"Shannon under pain of death, and this sentence of deportation
"was rigidly enforced until the Restoration. Their ancient
"possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as
"were the possessions of every man who had taken part in the
"rebellion, or followed the fortunes of the King after the

“murder of Charles the First. And this whole fund was distributed among the officers and soldiers of Cromwell’s army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war. And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England — Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millennarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. And I speak with great personal respect of the men, when I state that a very considerable portion of the opulence and power of this kingdom of Ireland, continues at this day in the descendants of those motley adventurers.”

Then referring to what took place after the Restoration, he proceeds :—

“Three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island [having been vested] in the king, commissioners are appointed with full and exclusive authority to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, of innocent Papists, as they are called—in other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for having taken part in the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles the Second. But with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisals shall be made to Cromwell’s soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of their inheritance. . . . I wish gentlemen, who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know that 7,800,000 acres of land were set out, under this act [of Settlement and Explanation] to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island, many of whom, who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well for the difficulties conjured up in the Court of Claims in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisal to English adventurers,

“ arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the Duke of York. . . . It is a subject of curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at 11,042,682 acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures :—

“ Confiscated in the reign of James the First :—

The whole of the province of Ulster, acres	2,836,837
Set out by the Court of Claims at the Restoration	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688	1,060,792
Total	11,697,629 ”

Finally, Lord Clare endeavoured to alarm the anti-Unionist landlords by reminding them of their peculiar position :—

“ The situation of the Irish nation at the Revolution [of 1688] stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England, carried on here [*i.e.*, in Ireland] from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilised nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British Empire. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British Crown during the whole of the last century was mere rebellion, and the municipal law of England attached upon the crime. What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the Revolution, and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation. It is painful to go into this detail, but we have been for years in a fever of intoxication, and must be stunned into sobriety. What, then, was the security of the English settlers for their physical existence at the Revolution, and what is the security of their descendants at this day? The powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If by any fatality it fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of the island.”

And he wound up his menaces by further impressing upon the Irish landlords the melancholy truth that:—

“The Parliament of England seems to have considered the permanent debility of Ireland as the best security of the British crown, and the Irish Parliament to have rested the security of the colony upon maintaining a perpetual and impossible barrier against the ancient inhabitants of the country.”

The ingratitude to the sufferers, referred to by Lord Clare, which Charles II. exhibited after the Restoration is notorious. “The king,” says Carte, “considered the settlement of Ireland as an affair rather of policy than justice,” and he acted accordingly; the Irish being sacrificed, observes Mr. Lecky, “with little reluctance.” “No men,” according to the former, “had so great shares [of the confiscated lands] as those who had been instruments to murder the king.” Charles readily confirmed the grants to Cromwell’s soldiers, and abandoned the loyal friends of his family to misery and despair. When a group of the latter visited his court for redress, it was the custom of the Merry Monarch to put on a sympathising air, and exclaim, “My poor people, how my heart bleeds for you!” But the farce was carried on a little too long. Some high-spirited Irish officers, who had been beggared by their fidelity to him in misfortune, boldly gave vent to their disappointment even in the royal presence. One of them, a Colonel Costello, having lost all patience with the ungrateful monarch, is said by Derrick to have replied to his sympathetic formula as follows:—

“Please your majesty, I ask for no compensation for my services and sacrifices in your majesty’s cause. I see that to your friends, and to my countrymen in particular, you give nothing, and that it is your enemies alone who receive favour and reward. For ten years’ service, for many wounds, and for the total loss of my estates, I ask nothing. But in the ardour of youth, and in the belief that I was asserting the sacred cause of liberty, I fought for one year in the service of the usurper—give me back such portion of my estates as that year’s service entitles me to!”

It will, perhaps, render the purport of Lord Clare’s entire speech

better understood to mention that the order to cross the Shannon was proclaimed by beat of drum in the middle of autumn, 1653; and every human being transplanted from the other three provinces to Connaught must obey that order before the first day of May in the following year, on pain of death. The flight was thus arranged for the winter. The following passage from an English historian will explain how comes it that the Irish peasant of the present day is so often to be found settled in the midst of savage bogs and moorland, and on the almost uncultivable slopes along the mountain side. It will be seen that the selection was no voluntary act of his, unhappy man:—

“Slowly,” observes Walpole, “the beggared nobility and gentry [and commons] set out on their sorrowful pilgrimage. The Anglo-Irish, who in Henry II.’s reign had dispossessed the native Irish, were driven forth from the estates they had held for five hundred years [to make room for Cromwell’s soldier-colonists]. The season was wet, the roads were well-nigh impassable, and the squalid multitude, as they straggled into the west, found that the barren land to which they had been sent was all too small for the promised accommodation. When the exiles reached Connaught, they were pillaged by the officers employed to set out their allotments, who had to be bribed, either with money or a portion of the land awarded, before they would stir in the business. These worthies—the Kings, the Binghamms, the Coles, the St. Georges, the Ormsbys, the Gores, the Lloyds—having cheated the transplanners of a portion of their lots, bought up the remnant for a few shillings the acre, to the extent of eighty thousand Irish acres.¹ . . . Here [in Connaught] they were to be hemmed in, as in a penal settlement, with the ocean on the one hand and the Shannon on the other, forbidden to enter a walled town under the death penalty, with a fringe of disbanded soldiers planted in a belt one mile wide all round the sea coast and along the line of the river, to keep them from approaching the border line.”

Here it may be mentioned that the event which brought the Cromwellian war of suppression to a conclusion, was the re-

¹ The same kind of rascality was practised on the occasion of the Ulster plantation, according to Leland.

duction of Galway (in the time of the Commonwealth a city second in importance only to London itself, according to Henry Cromwell), which surrendered to Sir Charles Coote, in April 1652, after a siege of nine months, having endured great privations meanwhile. During the two years which followed the surrender, one-third of the population of Connaught, of which Galway was the capital, was swept off by famine and plague:—

“In 1655,” observes Collier, in his abridged *History of Ireland*, “in violation of the conditions upon which the city of Galway had surrendered, it was ordered that all the Irish and Catholic inhabitants should be removed from the town, that they might be replaced by English Protestants. The inhabitants, without distinction of rank or sex, were driven out of the town in the midst of a severe winter, and were forced to take shelter by the ditches, and in poor cabins in the country, many, without fire or sufficient clothing, dying in consequence.”

But there is, unhappily, something more terrible yet to tell of the results of the Cromwellian war. Emigration—forced emigration—dates a long way back in Ireland. Cromwell, in order to get rid of some of his enemies, for instance, did not hesitate to transport 40,000 Irish from their own country, “to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their own valour,” observes Dalrymple, in the first volume of his *Memoirs of Great Britain*. Nor were those below the military age spared either. According to Sir William Petty, in his *Political Anatomy*, 6,000 young boys and girls were also sent away, who are said by Lynch (*Cambrensis Eversus*) to have been sold for slaves. Broudin, quoted by Lingard, in volume vii. of his *History of England*, numbers the exiles at 100,000 altogether. Petty is in agreement with Broudin as to the number of 100,000, and adds, in his *Hibernia Delineated*, there was reason to believe that numbers were “sent to perish in the tobacco islands.” Of those thus transported, it is said not a single one survived at the end of twenty years. In Thurloe’s Correspondence the formation of press-gangs to collect the male and female youth for transportation is even

set forth at length, Henry Cromwell excusing the use of force in the enterprise on account of its "being so much for their "owne goode." And though, he observes, "wee have mett with "some more than ordinary crosse providences in this my undertakinge, yet I doubt not but the lord will smille upon it "in the issue." However undesirable it is to revive these evil memories by further details, yet is it instructive to observe the mingled blasphemy and presumption with which one of the foremost men of the Commonwealth was prone to invoke the most sacred and hallowed names to sanction the enactment of the most atrocious cruelty for the most infamous of all purposes. What that purpose really was will be understood from the following passage from the work of the English historian, Walpole, already quoted:—

"Whole regiments [of the disbanded soldiers of the Irish "army] were eagerly recruited by the agents of the Kings of "Spain and Poland, and the Prince of Condé. As many as "34,000 were in this way hurried into exile. There remained "behind, of necessity, great numbers of widows and orphans, "and deserted wives and families; and these the Government "proceeded to ship wholesale to the West Indies—the boys for "slaves, the women and girls for mistresses to the English "sugar-planters. The merchants of Bristol—slave-dealers in "the days of Strongbow—sent over their agents to hunt down "and ensnare the wretched people for consignment to Barbadoes. "Orders were given them on the governors of gaols and work-houses for boys 'who were of an age to labour,' and women "who were marriageable and not past breeding.' Delicate "ladies were kidnapped, as well as the peasant women, and "forced on board the slave-ships. Between six and seven "thousand were transported before the capture by the unscrupulous dealers of some of the wives and daughters of the "English themselves forced the Government to prohibit the "seizure of any person without a warrant."

Mr. Lecky, in the second volume of his *Eighteenth Century*, tells us another result of this most cruel war:—

"The war ended at last in 1652. According to the calculation of Sir William Petty, out of a population of 1,466,000, "616,000 had in seven years perished by the sword, by plague,

“or by famine artificially produced. 504,000, according to this estimate, were Irish, 112,000 of English extraction. Famine and the sword had so done their work that in some districts the traveller rode twenty or thirty miles without seeing one trace of human life, and fierce wolves—rendered doubly savage by feeding on human flesh—multiplied with startling rapidity through the deserted land, and might be seen prowling in numbers within a few miles of Dublin.”

Unfortunately this story of Irish forfeitures and confiscations is not even yet complete. It will be recollected that Lord Clare estimated that the forfeitures at the Revolution exceeded a million acres, Irish measure. From these William III. distributed immense grants, numbering seventy-six in all, amongst his Dutch and English friends. To William Bentinck, eldest son of the Duke of Portland, he gave 135,820 acres; to Keppel, the Earl of Albemarle, 108,633 acres; to a former mistress, the Countess of Orkney, 95,649 (out of the Crown property absorbed by James at the Restoration); to Sidney, Lord Romney, 49,517 acres; to Ruvigny, created Earl of Galway, 36,148 acres; and to Ginkel, whom he made Earl of Athlone, 26,480 acres. These immense grants were within eight years resumed by the English Parliament in spite of the king, *with the possessions he had restored to the Irish proprietors*, and the whole offered by auction to the highest bidder regardless of right or justice. And then there was an infamous pension list quartered on the Irish Exchequer, which increased in ten years (1723–33) from £30,000 to £69,000 a year. One king after another had paid for his illicit pleasures in this way, as is clearly set forth in the pages of Lecky, Froude, and others. The money went to England to be distributed amongst disreputable people there for whom it was not thought expedient to solicit such gifts of the English Parliament, and it was said that all of the latter were clearly illegal. Catherine Sedley, the mistress of James II., had allotted her £5,000 a year. Madame de Walmoden, one of the mistresses of George II., had a pension of £3,000, and Lady Stanhope drew £2,600 a year. The Duchess of Kendal (the German who was to have shared with Wood the

profits on the copper coinage denounced by Swift), and the Countess of Darlington, the two mistresses of George I., had given them pensions of the united annual value of £5,000. Sophia Kilmansecke, another mistress of George II., was created Countess of Leinster and endowed with £2,000 a year. Lady Walsingham, the daughter of the Duchess of Kendal, had a pension of £1,500; and Lady Howe, the daughter of Lady Darlington, had a pension of £500. The Duke of St. Albans, the bastard son of Charles II., enjoyed a pension of £800 a year. Lastly, the Queen Dowager of Prussia, sister of George II.; Count Bernsdorff, who was a prominent German politician under George I., and a number of other less noted German names, may also be found on the Irish pension list. No wonder the Duke of St. Albans lends his distinguished friendship to Mr. Chamberlain in resisting the Irish Revolution. Mr. Lecky relates a pitiful story of Irish national bankruptcy in the early part of the last century, when profligate kings and royal prostitutes and royal bastards were thus enjoying themselves at the expense of the wofully misgoverned and plundered country. At a time when every kind of Irish industry was in course of destruction, if it had not been already destroyed, by the jealousy of the English Parliament, Mr. Lecky says:—

“A patent was granted to some French refugees in 1700, and Cromelin, a native of St. Quintin, laboured for many years with great skill and energy to spread the hemp and flax industry. He maintained that the soil and climate of Ireland were eminently adapted for the cultivation of flax, and that as good hemp could be grown over the country south of Dundalk as in any part of the world. It was represented that it would be extremely desirable if Cromelin could be induced to settle in the centre of the island, and spread his industry among the half-starving population. He agreed to establish himself in Kilkenny. He obtained an extension of his patent, and an immediate payment of £2,500. But this small sum was beyond the resources of the country; and a letter is extant in which the Lords Justices complain that Ireland was at this time too poor to raise it.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADVENTURERS—PLANTERS—UNDERTAKERS.'

"From Scotland came many, and from England not a few; yet all of "them generally the scum of both nations."—REID'S *History of the Presbyterian Church*.

UNDER the operation of the various confiscatory schemes and the penal laws, the Irish gentry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the Irish Catholic people generally, gradually disappeared from public view. "If you would find the ancient "gentry of Ireland," Swift once observed, writing in the last century, "you must seek them on the coal-quay, or in the "Liberties [an impoverished district of Dublin]." Taylor, another Protestant writer, who was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in the second volume of his *Civil Wars*, indignantly writes as follows of the Protestant ascendancy, which, after William's success in Ireland, constituted an aristocracy that was, until quite lately, insolently oblivious of their not too creditable origin:—

"They felt," observes Taylor, "that they were despised for "the meanness of their origin by the ancient Irish gentry; and "they, of course, exerted themselves to weaken the influence "of persons whose nobility eclipsed their own humble claims. "With singular impudence, they denounced all Irish names as "vulgar; and the sons of Cromwell's fanatical soldiery, the "meanest and worst part of the Parliamentary army, affected "to look down on the O's and Macs, descended from kings, "and 'over the ashes of whose ancestors minsters had been "builded.'"

Now, what was the character, moral and religious, of the "motley adventurers," as Lord Clare styled them, who sup-

planted those native "lovers of justice" described by Sir John Davis, Sir Edward Coke, and the historian Leland? When Crown grants of land were made to the planters or adventurers, it was expressly stipulated that their tenants were to be English or Scotch, and Protestants. They were commonly distinguished by the name of "undertakers," because they were obliged by the conditions of their settling in Ireland to observe certain specific engagements or undertakings. Robert Paine, who was an English "undertaker" himself, has left on record, in his *Brief Description of Ireland* (in the reign of Elizabeth), a not very attractive commentary on some of his countrymen there "planted." After warning those at home in England against the evil reports of disappointed adventurers who spoke of the danger of living in Ireland, he writes of the latter as follows:—

"Yet are they freedde from three of the greatest dangers ; first, they cannot meete in all that land any worssse than themselves ; secondly, they neede not feare robbing for that they have not anything to loose ; lastly, they are not like to runne in debte, for that there is none will trust them. The greatest matter which troubleth them is, they cannot get anything there but by honest trauell [labour], which they are altogether "ignorant of."

As to the unfortunate Irish inhabitants themselves, on the other hand here is Paine's testimony:—

"Although they did never see you before, they will make you the best cheare their country yeeldeth for two or three days, and take not any thing therefor. . . . They keepe their promise faithfully, and are more desirous of peace than our English men, for that in time of warres they are more charged, and also they are fatter praies for the enemie [Paine's own countrymen], who respecteth no person. . . . Nothing is more pleasing unto them, than to heare of good justices placed amongst them. They have a common saying which I am persuaded they speake unfeignedly, which is, *Defend me and spend me* ; meaning from the oppression of the worser sorte of our [English] countriemen. They are obedient to the laws, so you may travel through all the land without any danger or injurie offered of the verye worst Irish, and be greatly releevd of [by] the best."

A Presbyterian minister, whose father accompanied the first settlers in the reign of James I., thus describes the men who then went over to regenerate Ireland, in a MS. History (by the Reverend Andrew Stewart) quoted in the first volume of Reid's *Presbyterian Church* :—

“From Scotland came many, and from England not a few ;
 “yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who, from
 “debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter,
 “came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a
 “land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear
 “of God. . . . Most of the people were void of all godliness.
 “. . . On all hands Atheism increased, and disregard of God,
 “iniquity abounded with contention, fighting, murder, and
 “adultery, &c.”

This testimony for the dissolute, disreputable character of the majority of those who had supplanted the natives on their own Irish soil is confirmed by another Presbyterian minister of distinction, Robert Blair, who settled in Ulster in 1623, that is, within a dozen years of the commencement of James's cruel confiscatory experiment :—

“Although,” he says (*Life*, Edinburgh, 1754), “amongst
 “those whom divine providence did send to Ireland, there were
 “several persons eminent for birth, education, and parts, yet
 “the most part were such as either poverty, scandalous lives,
 “or, at the best, adventurous seeking of better accommodation,
 “had forced thither ; so that the security and thriving of religion was little seen to by those adventurers, and the
 “preachers were generally of the same complexion with the
 “people.”

It would lead to serious injustice to leave the reader under the impression that the entire discredit appertaining to the Protestant Church in Ireland formerly lay exclusively with the Presbyterian and other dissenting bodies planted in the country. It was not so. It really fared no better with the Episcopal establishment. Elizabeth's lay legate, Sir Henry Sidney, writing to Her Majesty in 1576, says :—

“The Church [the Protestant Established] is foul deformed,
 “and cruelly crushed ; upon the face of the earth, where Christ

"is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case. . . . The most part of such English ministers as came over here [to Ireland] are either unlearned or of bad note, for which they have forsaken England."

Those observations of Sidney's will be found in Edmund Spenser's *State of Ireland*. But the poet has something to add from his own knowledge on the sad subject:—

"Some of them [the Irish Protestant bishops] whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, doe not at all bestowe the benefices which are in their own donation, upon any, but keepe them in their owne hands, and set their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruites of them; with the which, some of them purchased great lands, and built faire castells upon the same. Of which abuse if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon! . . . Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, you finde here, and many more. Namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinence, careless sloath, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. . . . The clergy are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered."

Whatever the value to be attached to the bishops' excuse for keeping the Church benefices in their own hands, whether "seemly" or otherwise, it is at least an historical fact that many of the Presbyterian clergy who had gone over with the Scotch colony were inducted into Ulster Established Church livings in James's reign. By way of emphasising his description of this ecclesiastical collapse in Ireland, Spenser contrasts these unworthy shepherds with those others belonging to the older faith who just then lived secretly in Ireland at the risk of their lives:—

"It is greate wonder," observes the author of the *Faery Queen*, "to see the oddes which is betweene the zeale of popish priests, and the ministers of the gospel; for they spare not to come out of Spayne, from Rome, and from Remes, by long toile and dangerous travayling hither, where they know perill of deathe awaiteth them, and no reward or riches is to be found, only to draw the people unto the Church of Rome;

“whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the country offered to them, without paines and without perill, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeale for religion, or for all the good they may doe by winning soules to God, be drawne forth from their warm nests to looke out into God’s harvest.”

Sir John Davis, in James’s reign, has no more cheering account to give of the Establishment in Ireland than that of Sidney and Spenser. He complains of the character of the parish clergy, who were imported from England; as were their bishops, and, “like the priests of Jeroboam, taken from the basest of the people”:—

“The churches are ruined and fallen down,” he says. “There is no divine service, no christening of children, no receiving of the sacrament, no Christian meeting or assembly, no not once a year; in a word, no more demonstration of religion than amongst Tartars and cannibals.”

How could it be otherwise? When Bedell, who was really a worthy English divine, arrived to take possession of his see of Kilmore, he found his predecessor had so leased the Episcopal lands, and sold the perpetual advowsons—founding a family on the ruins of two plundered bishoprics—that he, Bedell, was compelled to institute legal proceedings against the Episcopal widow and her son to obtain restitution of the temporalities. But if the bishops were mostly men of indifferent character, what could be expected from the lives of the clergy; of whom Strafford gives so bad an account in his letters to Laud? Indeed Bale, the notorious Bishop of Ossory, excused the corruptions amongst his own clergy by stating that they were disobedient in things appertaining to God’s glory through the evil example of Browne, the Archbishop of Dublin! The story was precisely the same throughout the entire period of the Stuart dynasty, and so continued down into the reign of the Georges in the last century. There were four archbishops and eighteen bishops to look after the spiritual interests of a Protestant population not exceeding 100,000, all told; so that

it was the shepherds, not the flocks, that were in droves. And they were enormously wealthy; the land belonging to their sees being equal to 998,000 English acres, or one-nineteenth part of the entire surface of the kingdom. There was therefore really nothing for them to do amongst this sparse population, and they did nothing except to plunder the revenues of the Church for the benefit of their own families, as in the case of the see of Kilmore just mentioned. One of them, Primate Stone, who has been ironically described as "the beauty of holiness," is believed to have indulged in the luxury of a harem at his country house near Dublin. And he is accused of having in this manner managed the Irish Parliamentary opposition, while he was Lord Justice, by pandering to the vices of its younger members. Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin, was accused of open crimes—"unfit to relate"—by his archiepiscopal brother, Loftus of Armagh, one of the founders of the Ely family—himself no great shining light either. Notwithstanding his blasted character, and that he was, according to Bishop Mant's modern Irish Church history, "labouring under heavy moral imputations," he, Curwen, somehow got himself translated to Oxford. Many others obtained their sees in Ireland by taking over with them the cast-off mistresses of their English patrons. Of Loftus, the titular Primate, Mr. Froude has said that "sacked villages, "ravished women, and famine-stricken skeletons crawling about "the fields were to him matters of everyday indifference." Browne, Archbishop of Dublin; Staples, Bishop of Meath; and Bale, Bishop of Ossory, were amongst the blackest of the black sheep. Staples was an enemy of Browne, as Loftus was an enemy of Curwen, and inveighed against him in the course of a sermon at Christchurch, Dublin, in the presence of the Royal Commissioners and the Council. In Kilmainham Church also, when Browne himself was present, Canon Dixon says, in his *Church of England*, vol. ii., that Staples called him a heretic and a beggar; "and raged against him with such a stomach that "the three-mouthed Cerberus of hell could not have uttered it "more viperously." Bale, too, who is himself described by Mr. Froude as "a foul-mouthed ruffian," in a moment of unconscious

virtue, complained of the same Archbishop of Dublin, whom he neatly described as “an epicureous archbishop, a dissembling “proselyte, a brockish swine, a glutton, a drunkard, a hypocrite, “and a frequent supporter of bawds and * * *”

But let us be content with casting a veil over the repulsive subject here. Swift's attempt to account for the anomalous character of those curious successors of the apostles has never been seriously challenged as a gross exaggeration. In his day you dare not hold the mirror up to nature in Ireland except in the guise of allegory or fable. So the Protestant dean of St. Patrick's was obliged to be careful of his phraseology when dealing with the scandalous character of the Episcopal exportations from England, some of whom wielded civil power as Lords Justices in the absence of the Viceroy. It was necessary, therefore, to observe caution. But as you might safely write B C very large on the ungodly backs of many, without violation of your own conscience, Swift overcame the danger and difficulty by accounting for the origin of the Irish bishops thus :—

“Excellent and moral men,” he observed, “have been “selected on every occasion of vacancy. But it unfortunately “has uniformly happened that as these worthy divines crossed “Hounslow Heath [just outside London] on their way to Ireland “to take possession of their bishoprics, they have been regularly “robbed and murdered by the highwaymen frequenting that “common, who seize upon their robes and patents, come over to “Ireland, and are consecrated bishops in their stead.”

Here and there were to be found, doubtless, men of high worth and character amid the general gloom ; such men, for example, as Berkeley of Cloyne, Bedell, Archbishop Usher, &c. And the Irish Catholics revered them as they deserved. Bedell dying in their custody during the rebellion of 1641, they buried him with military honours, and prayed for the peace of his soul, “*Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum.*” But the number of such good men was insufficient to relieve the colouring of Swift's dark picture. The spiritual zeal of the ecclesiastical army encamped in Ireland was practically *nil*. Idleness was the besetting but by no means the only prevailing vice. As may

be imagined, that vice was cursed with a hateful and prolific progeny ; lewdness and drunkenness being common amongst the shepherds, high and low, until at length they fell into a kind of hopeless, despairing stupor :—

“ Die I must, but let me die drinking in an inn !
 Hold the wine-cup to my lips sparkling from the bin !
 So, when angels flutter down to take me from my sin,
 ‘ Ah, God have mercy on this sot,’ the cherubs will begin.”

It is impossible to close this chapter without testifying to the excellent personal character of the Protestant clergy of all creeds and classes of the present generation in Ireland. But they are lamentably prejudiced by old associations. In three of the four Irish provinces they are isolated amongst a multitude of Catholics, who never offer them the slightest offence. Yet they cannot get over the recollection of the ascendancy days when many of their Episcopal churches, though empty, were endowed by the State, and themselves officially recognised as the only ecclesiastical polity in Ireland. It is very sad. In various other European kingdoms Protestants live in harmony with their Catholic fellow-countrymen. Even in England the sectarian bitterness of former generations has all but died out, and the working man’s dislike (where it exists) of the Catholic priest is not on account of his creed, but because of his too commonly taking sides with the “classes” against him. Ireland alone furnishes a field for unscrupulous politicians—the Hartingtons, Churchills, and Chamberlains—who do not care a straw for dogmatic religion of any kind, except to use it as a lever wherewith to foment sectarian animosities and disorder. In any other European kingdom such indecent politicians as those who visit Belfast consecutively would be sharply dealt with by the government of the country, as wilful disturbers of the public peace if not as enemies of the commonwealth. Cannot respectable Irish Protestants be made to understand how they are, from time to time, rendered subservient to the selfish aims of such dishonest brawlers ?

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ULSTER.

"The truth is that Ulster is by no means the homogeneous Orange and Protestant community which it suits the Orangemen to represent it. In some counties the Catholics are in a large majority, and it must be acknowledged, we fear, that the Nationalists have a much stronger hold on many parts of Ulster than it is at all satisfactory to contemplate."—*Times*, June 1884.

THE redoubtable Colonel Saunderson, M.P., Mr. Johnston of Ballykilbeg, M.P., and their Chaplains of Orange Lodges, Revs. Kane and Hanna, are in the habit of wandering about England and Scotland, making bombastic speeches as to the terrible things in store for the British Empire if Mr. Gladstone attempts to give Ulster her share in the government of Ireland. They pretend before unsophisticated audiences, knowing no better, that Ulster is, as the orators so often proclaim it, a Protestant province. But what are the facts? According to the census of 1881 the three great religious bodies into which Ulster is divided are in the following proportions:—

Catholics	833,566
Presbyterians	451,629
Episcopalians	379,402

So that the Catholics compose one-half the population. And yet some wise men want a separate Parliament for the Protestant moiety; for the Ulster Catholics would certainly not be contented with exclusion from the Parliament of the kingdom assembled in Dublin. Meanwhile, even in the existing imperial Parliament at Westminster the Nationalists hold a majority of the thirty-three Ulster seats. In fact, there are but two Ulster counties, Down and Antrim, in which the Protestants are in

any considerable majority. Would you have a separate legislature to accommodate the anti-national whims of a mere corner of the northern province under the circumstances? Could anything more completely expose the unreality and insincerity of the scheme of the wise men than the coloured Map of Ireland accompanying this volume?

Another point that is occasionally dinned into unsophisticated ears is this,—that whereas the population in the other three Irish provinces is declining from year to year, on account of emigration, in Ulster it is stationary, if not actually increasing, owing to the prosperity there prevailing. Well, the Registrar-General's emigration returns for 1888, lately presented to Parliament, show that the proportion of emigrants from Ulster has been, since 1851, in the aggregate, nearly equal to that of two out of the three other Irish provinces conjoined, viz., Leinster and Connaught, as well as to the total emigration from Munster, the third. Here are the figures:—

Total number of Irish emigrants from 1851 to 1889 .	3,276,103
From Munster	1,117,921
„ Ulster	965,808
„ Leinster	609,797
„ Connaught	471,909

If the Colonel should think of suggesting to the credulous old ladies of both sexes who compose his audiences that the emigration from Ulster has been arrested of late, and try to impose upon them with some fresh fiction in regard to the alleged prosperity of that province, there are further facts to confute him from the same returns. There went to the United States—less favoured than Canada by Ulster Protestants—last year 85 per cent. of the Irish emigrants generally, to which Ulster contributed its quota as follows:—

From Munster	22,735
„ Ulster	17,439
„ Connaught	14,773
„ Leinster	11,959

The explanation is not far to seek. Parliamentary returns obtained by the late Mr. Rylands, M.P., and Sir George

Trevelyan, M.P., in 1882 and 1884 respectively, conclusively show that Ulster stands third on the list of Irish provinces as regards Income Tax Assessment and Valuation of Rateable Property. This fact is explained, in turn, by observing that there are 538,000 agricultural holdings in Ireland whose average rental does not exceed £6 a year each, and of these the *Times* stated, a few years ago, following the high authority of Sir James Caird, that they belonged to a class of holdings from which the rental was, if the present agricultural depression continued, "practically irrecoverable by anybody." The following table shows that Ulster has not only by far the largest number of such miserable holdings, *but more than Munster and Leinster have when added together*; and furnishes a vivid explanation of the abnormal emigration from the former province, because men do not flee from but seek prosperity:—

Ulster	.	.	.	.	.	207,833
Connaught	.	.	.	.	.	128,124
Munster	.	.	.	.	.	105,429
Leinster	.	.	.	.	.	97,000
						<hr/>
						538,386

Ulster, it is sad to tell, is *primus* amongst the Irish provinces in immorality only; Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry, Down, and Tyrone counties being the plague spots of the most moral country in Europe. These counties, the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, are the only ones "returning Orange members to the present "Parliament," and, somewhat unkindly, adds: "It seems that "Orangeism and illegitimacy go together, and that illegitimate "children in Ireland are in proportion to Orange Lodges." Nevertheless, as regards the character of the people of Ulster generally, Catholic and Protestant, it stands deservedly high. Nowhere will you meet more estimable men and women. But they do themselves injustice by tolerating the Orangemen, who were once (1836) described by Drummond, the famous Irish Secretary, as "demons" who should have been stamped out long ago by a united public opinion. The Ulster Orangemen are for ever boasting of the prowess of those whom they are pleased to

call their "Fathers." The reader is provided with full length portraits of those ancestral worthies in the preceding chapter, painted by no hostile hand. There is probably no other people in existence who, if they had the misfortune to come of such a stock, would not modestly endeavour to hold their tongue on the subject. The Orangemen keep up the family traditions in one unfortunate respect. That is undeniable. But as to their hereditary prowess, it is as imaginative as that of the royal Georgian hero who could not be persuaded it was not he but the Duke of Wellington who gained the battle of Waterloo. They have gone on asserting that it is to them England owes it that she has been able to maintain a foothold in Ireland at all, until at length they really believe the fiction to be a fact. Mr. Gladstone courteously remonstrated with them in regard to the delusion, during the Home Rule debate of the 16th of April 1886, as follows, but in vain :—

"I have said that the landlords were our garrison in Ireland. Let me a little unfold that sentence. We planted them there, and we replanted them. In 1641, in 1688, and again in 1798, we reconquered the country for them. I heard a gallant gentleman speak a few nights ago in this House, who seemed to be under the pious impression that rebellion in Ireland had been put down by the superhuman action of a certain regiment of militia—I really forget which. I beg pardon of my old supporter [Colonel Saunderson, previously a Liberal], but . . . if he has read the history of the rebellion of 1641 he will find that it was effectually and finally put down, and only put down by Cromwell, who, whatever he may have been, was not an Irish Protestant. The rebellion of 1688–89 was put down, not by the Protestants of the North, but by the introduction mainly of foreign hosts; and the rebellion of 1798, to which I think the honourable member specially referred, was unquestionably put down, not by the action of what is termed the loyal minority, which undoubtedly, I do not say from its own fault, had not at that period earned the name, but when the Irish Government in Dublin was in despair the rebellion was put down by their inducing the British Government in London to equip and send to Ireland a large and adequate force of British soldiers.—(Lord R.

“Churchill: They had the Yeomanry.)—No doubt they had “the Yeomanry, but the Yeomanry could not do it.”

The Orange Yeomanry and Militia did indeed distinguish themselves in the rebellion of 1798. Lord Cornwallis, who was Irish Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, writing to General Ross, on July the 24th, in that year, said of them:—

“The Yeomanry are in the style of the Loyalists in America, “only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand “times more ferocious. . . . They now take the lead in rapine “and murder. The Irish Militia with few officers, and these “generally of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the “Yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity.”

Nothing will cure the Orangemen—who are, happily, estimated not to exceed 25,000 grown up men in Ulster—of their idolatry in regard to William III., who never once in his life recognised their participation in his campaigns in Ireland or anywhere else. Yet would they, if they were not compelled to “move on” by the police, fall down and worship his equestrian statue in Dublin. Londoners would not be angry if some evil-disposed Jacobite—if such a contemptible being now exist—were to overturn and destroy every memorial of the Hanoverian as well as the Dutch dynasty in the metropolis; always excepting those of that royal lady “in whom,” according to Macaulay, “her subjects have “found a wiser, gentler, and happier Elizabeth.” Yet not the worst of them is so ludicrous as a work of art as that of William III. standing in front of Trinity College, in the Irish metropolis. It is now a good many years ago since a detonating substance of some kind having been placed under the horse’s tail, the hero of the Boyne was thrown heavily, when the Orangemen raised a shriek all over the kingdom loud enough to have portended the incomprehensible disaster which befell Sennacherib when his Assyrian hosts were slain by the “angel “of the Lord” 2000 years before. Cardinal Newman, who spent some years in Dublin, relates the tragic story humorously as follows, in his *Present Position of Catholics*:—

“Some profane person one night applied gunpowder, and “blew the king right out of his saddle, and he was found by

"those who took interest in him, like Dagon, on the ground. "You might have thought the poor senseless block had life to see the way the people took on about it, and how they spoke of his face, and his arms, and his legs; yet these [Irish] Protestants, I say, would at the same time be horrified had I used 'he' and 'him' of a crucifix, and would call me one of the monsters described in the Apocalypse did I but honour my living Lord as they their dead king!"

On the 22nd of July 1889, with innumerable sources of better information at his hand, the Duke of Argyle—who has been compendiously described by Lord Rosebery as a "portentous political pedagogue"—treated the House of Lords to one of his foolish historical speeches on Ireland, in the course of which he proved to his own satisfaction the vast superiority of Belfast to other parts of the country in all things, including education. He even ventured to favour the House to statistics on the subject. The Duke knows well enough what he is about. If the Irishman be permitted to carry on the agrarian war much longer, the Highlander, misled by his evil example, may shortly be expected to fly in the face of Providence and the Scottish Peerage in like manner; so that there will be no rackrents left to support the dignity of the clan Campbell in their Highland fastness at Inverary. But let us have the facts:—

"The percentage of persons able to read and write in the four Irish provinces is thus tabulated in the Census returns of 1881:—

Leinster	:	:	:	:	58.5	|	Munster	:	:	:	:	53.2
Ulster	:	:	:	:	53.4	|	Connaught	:	:	:	:	41.5

"A further Parliamentary return shows that there are thousands of illiterate voters in every Ulster county, including the so-called 'Loyalist' strongholds, and the figures for the boroughs, which are as follows, are very significant:—

Belfast	:	:	1,559	|	Dublin	:	:	869	|	Limerick	:	425
Cork	:	:	1,297	|	Derry	:	:	637	|	Waterford	:	416
				|	Galway	:	:	381				

"It would thus appear that not only does Belfast, the headquarters of Orangeism and civilisation, contain the largest number of illiterate voters, but it has nearly twice as many as Dublin, which has nearly 52,000 more population. Derry, too, with a population of 29,162 has 212 more 'illiterates' than Limerick, which has a population of 48,670, and 221 more 'illiterates' than Waterford, the population of which is about equal to its own."¹

¹ *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule.*

CHAPTER XX.

PENAL LAWS—PERSECUTION FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE —AND COMPULSORY IGNORANCE.

"Scarce any pains were taken in the age of Elizabeth, or indeed in "subsequent ages, to win the [Irish] people's convictions . . . except by "penal statutes or the sword."—HALLAM.

WITHIN a period comparatively recent there was no accusation so commonly uttered, and thought to be so well founded by educated people in and out of Parliament, as that charging the Catholic priests in Ireland with keeping the people in ignorance. The people were indeed kept in ignorance until a recent period in Ireland, but by whom? Protestant historians shall inform us. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century the claims of domestic education and the sacred privileges of the family hearth had been respected, even by Elizabeth, by Cromwell, and the Long Parliament. Ascendancy hatred, however, was more keenly desirous to reach Catholicism even behind this hitherto inviolable intrenchment, and to leave Catholics no alternative but to stagnate in utter ignorance or to imbibe Protestant learning. For the attainment of this end a penal law banished from Ireland all Catholic teachers, and sentenced them to death in case of return. Wealthy families might, however, it was found, evade this law by sending their children to schools on the Continent; so, another law was passed (7 William III. c. 4), which forbade Catholics under the severest penalties—forfeiture to the Crown of all real and personal estate—to send their children across the seas without special permission. Parliamentary returns have exhibited the fact that, as a consequence, when the national system of education was first established in Ireland, some fifty years ago, there were 1,409,000 of the population who could only read but not write; and 3,765,000 who could

neither read nor write. Yet nowhere in the world is there such a thirst for knowledge as amongst the Irish peasant children. In visiting Irish poor schools under the Government Board of Education and the Christian Brothers—the latter a splendid body of men, specially gifted as successful teachers—one finds most surprising and unexpected proofs on the subject. In the girls' schools conducted by the various religious communities of ladies, under Government inspection, they are even more conspicuous. Of these ladies Sir John Forbes, one of the Queen's physicians, has said, in his *Memorandums in Ireland* (1852):—

“They accept and follow, to the letter, the precepts and the practice of the great Founder of the Christian religion; not by useless self-sacrifice and barren holiness, but by actively ministering to the welfare and necessities of their fellow-creatures, in accordance with that grand fundamental law of all true religion—To do unto others as one would desire that others should do unto him.”

A single specimen is characteristic of the entire class. In the schools conducted by the Sisters of Mercy at Gort and Kinvara, on the borders of Clare and Galway County, for instance, children of tender age walk distances of two, three, or four English miles each way, barefooted, over the roughest roads, and in all kinds of weather. A young nun signing herself “Sister Mary Dominic,” and writing from Gort Convent, County Galway, has, by direction of the Mother Superior (Mrs. M. Doyle), courteously supplied the following additional information illustrative of this thirst for knowledge amongst the poor children of the Irish peasant class:—

“We have about 150 *country* children at Gort and 80 at Kinvara, varying in age from five to fifteen years, very many of whom are singularly beautiful and clever. The total number of children attending is more than double this estimate. Their breakfast before leaving home in the morning consists of potatoes and milk generally, but *very often* there is no milk. Not more than half of them bring food with them to school. As far as her funds permit, our Mother Superior supplies the poorer children with bread during school hours, and we endeavour to put them through

“a drying process before commencing lessons; they are so wretchedly clad for our moist climate, which often compels them to remain away altogether, not only from school but from church. We teach them to sing, and to as many joyous tunes as possible, because the sisters, who visit them in their humble homes, know how much it tends to lighten the poverty of the ‘family circle.’ Mother Aloysius [a member of the community who nursed some of the Crimean heroes in the hospitals at Scutari and Balaclava]¹ always reminds us how the soldiers were cheered by music when they were faint with hunger, and even when they were lying wounded. As to our funds, we have a bazaar periodically, for which we receive gifts in money and kind from England and Scotland as well as Ireland, and from generous Protestants—including a member of the Royal family—as well as Catholics. But we have to be exceedingly careful in the distribution of such gifts, so as not to diminish the spirit of contentment amongst the children, who are taught to ascribe their humble lot to the will of Providence, and not to be ashamed of their unavoidable poverty. There is not one of them who would condescend to beg under any circumstances, not because they despise the little luxuries which a few pence would bring them, but really because they would be ashamed to do so. Mother Superior asks me to present her compliments to Mr. Fox, and, in reply to his further inquiry, say that the children’s idea of Home Rule is remunerative employment, shoes and stockings, bread and milk for breakfast, and *no more rags.*”

In 1747, John Wesley first visited Ireland, and showed his keen insight into the national life by observing that “the Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England. Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists generally live and die such, when the Protestants can find no better way to convert them than Penal Laws and Acts of Parliament.” His burning zeal met with a hearty response from the ardent Celtic nature, observes the Reverend H. S. Lunn, M.D., an accomplished young

¹ Fourteen Irish Sisters, forming an independent corps, nursed the sick and wounded during the war. One dying on the scene of her labours, was followed to the grave by officers and soldiers in considerable numbers.

English Wesleyan minister, lately residing in Ireland; and after an enthusiastic tour of a fortnight he, Wesley, left that country describing its people as "loving beyond expression."

Mr. Lecky, in his *Leaders of Public Opinion*, supplies a clear account of the penal laws, freed from legal jargon and the interpolation of the statutes, as follows:—

"The last great Protestant ruler of England was William III., who is identified in Ireland with the humiliation of the Boyne, with the destruction of Irish trade, and with the broken Treaty of Limerick. The ceaseless exertions of the extreme Protestant party have made him more odious in the eyes of the people than he deserves to be; for he was personally far more tolerant than the great majority of his contemporaries, and the penal code was chiefly enacted under his successors. It required, indeed, four or five reigns to elaborate a system so ingeniously contrived to demoralise, to degrade, and to impoverish the people of Ireland. By this code the Roman Catholics were absolutely excluded from the Parliament, from the magistracy, from the corporations, from the bench, and from the bar. They could not vote at Parliamentary elections or at vestries; they could not act as constables, or sheriffs, or jurymen, or serve in the army or navy, or become solicitors, or even hold the positions of gamekeeper or watchman. Schools were established to bring up their children as Protestants; and if they refused to avail themselves of these, they were deliberately assigned to hopeless ignorance, being excluded from the university, and debarred, under crushing penalties, from acting as schoolmasters, as ushers, or as private tutors, or from sending their children abroad to obtain the instruction they were refused at home. They could not marry Protestants, and if such a marriage were celebrated it was annulled by law, and the priest who officiated might be hung. They could not buy land, or inherit or receive it as a gift from Protestants, or hold life-annuities, or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms that the profits of the land exceeded one-third of the rent. If any Catholic leaseholder by his industry so increased his profits that they exceeded this proportion, and did not immediately make a corresponding increase in his payments, any Protestant who gave the information could enter into possession of his farm. If any Catholic had

“secretly purchased either his old forfeited estate, or any other land, any Protestant who informed against him might become the proprietor. The few Catholic landowners who remained were deprived of the right which all other classes possessed of bequeathing their lands as they pleased. If their sons continued Catholics, it was divided equally between them. If, however, the eldest son consented to apostatise, the estate was settled upon him, the father from that hour became only a life-tenant, and lost all power of selling, mortgaging, or otherwise disposing of it. If the wife of a Catholic abandoned the religion of her husband, she was immediately free from his control, and the Chancellor was empowered to assign to her a certain proportion of her husband’s property. If any child, however young, professed itself a Protestant, it was at once taken from the father’s care, and the Chancellor could oblige the father to declare upon oath the value of his property, both real and personal, and could assign for the present maintenance and future portion of the converted child such proportion of that property as the court might decree.

“No Catholic could be guardian either to his own children or to those of another person; and therefore a Catholic who died while his children were minors had the bitterness of reflecting upon his deathbed that they must pass into the care of Protestants. An annuity of from twenty to forty pounds was provided as a bribe for every priest who would become a Protestant. To convert a Protestant to Catholicism was a capital offence. In every walk of life the Catholic was pursued by persecution or restriction. Except in the linen trade, he could not have more than two apprentices. He could not possess a horse of the value of more than five pounds, and any Protestant, on giving him five pounds, could take his horse.¹ He was compelled to pay double to the militia. He was forbidden, except under particular conditions, to live in Galway or Limerick. In case of war with a Catholic power, the Catholics were obliged to reimburse the damage done by the enemy’s privateers [and they were not allowed to carry arms

¹ This is an error; it should be five *guineas* for the exchange, according to Meriton’s *Abridgment of the Irish Statutes* (Dublin, 1700). But the penalty for refusing or neglecting to surrender the horse was £30; in the case of a Catholic peer, £100; and for a second offence of the same kind, imprisonment for life and forfeiture of all goods; the offender being held guilty of *premunire* by the 7 William III. c. 5.

“themselves]. The Legislature, it is true, did not venture absolutely to suppress their worship, but it existed only by a doubtful connivance—stigmatised as if it were a species of licensed prostitution, and subject to conditions which, if they had been enforced, would have rendered its continuance impossible. An old law which prohibited it, and another which enjoined attendance at the Anglican worship, remained unrepealed, and might at any time be revived; and the former was, in fact, enforced during the Scottish rebellion of 1715. The parish priests, who alone were allowed to officiate, were compelled to be registered, and were forbidden to keep curates or to officiate anywhere except in their own parishes. The chapels might not have bells or steeples. No crosses might be publicly erected. Pilgrimages to the holy wells were forbidden. Not only all monks and friars, but also all Catholic archbishops, bishops, deacons, and other dignitaries, were ordered by a certain day to leave the country; and if after that date they were found in Ireland they were liable to be first imprisoned and then banished; and if after that banishment they returned to discharge their duty in their dioceses, they were liable to the punishment of death. To facilitate the discovery of offences against the code, two justices of the peace might at any time compel any Catholic of eighteen years of age to declare when and where he last heard Mass, what persons were present, and who officiated; and if he refused to give evidence they might imprison him for twelve months, or until he paid a fine of twenty pounds. Any one who harboured ecclesiastics from beyond the seas was subject to fines which for the third offence amounted to confiscation of all his goods. A graduated scale of rewards was offered for the discovery of Catholic bishops, priests, and schoolmasters; and a resolution of the House of Commons pronounced the prosecuting and informing against Papists ‘an honourable service to the Government.’”

Such were the principal articles of this famous code—a code which Burke truly described as:—

“A complete system, full of coherence and consistency; well digested and well disposed in all its parts; a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from

“the perverted ingenuity of man. . . . Where the laws were not bloody they were worse ; they were slow, cruel, and outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their persons every one of the rights and feelings of humanity.”

Burke has also reminded us that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes fell far short in its effects of the result of the penal laws in Ireland. The number of the sufferers, he said—“if considered relatively to the body of each community, is not perhaps a twentieth part of ours ; . . . and then the penalties and incapacities which grew from that revocation are not so ruinous by a great deal to the civil prosperity of the state.” The effects of these laws Mr. Lecky has described thus :—

“The economical and moral effects of the penal laws were, however, profoundly disastrous. The productive energies of the nation were fatally diminished. Almost all Catholics of energy and talent who refused to abandon their faith emigrated to foreign lands. The relation of classes was permanently vitiated ; for almost all the proprietary of the country belonged to one religion, while the great majority of their tenants were of another. The Catholics, excluded from almost every possibility of eminence, deprived of their natural leaders, and consigned by the Legislature to utter ignorance, soon sank into the condition of broken and dispirited helots. A total absence of industrial virtues, a cowering and abject deference to authority, a recklessness about the future, a love of secret illegal combinations, became general among them. Above all, they learned to regard law as merely the expression of force, and its moral weight was utterly destroyed. For the greater part of a century, the main object of the Legislature was to extirpate a religion by the encouragement of the worst and the punishment of some of the best qualities of our nature. Its rewards were reserved for the informer, for the hypocrite, for the undutiful son, or for the faithless wife. Its penalties were directed against religious constancy and the honest discharge of ecclesiastical duty. It would, indeed, be scarcely possible to conceive a more infamous system of legal tyranny than that which in the middle of the eighteenth century crushed every class and almost every interest in Ireland.”

It may be as well, perhaps, to append some of the statutes to

illustrate Mr. Lecky's interpretation of them. They were very numerous. A few of the Penal Acts then in force, or since enacted against Catholics were—By 7th William III., no Protestant in Ireland was allowed to instruct any Papist. By 8th of Anne, no Papist was allowed to instruct any other Papist. By 7th William III., no Papist was permitted to be sent out of Ireland to receive instructions. Ignorance was thus enforced by Act of Parliament. By these statutes, the great body of the Irish people were legislatively prohibited from receiving any instruction whatever, either from a Protestant or a Catholic, either at home or abroad, or from going out of Ireland to be instructed. Even so late as the 12th George I., any Catholic clergyman marrying a Protestant and a Catholic was to be hanged. By 7th George II., any barrister or attorney marrying a Catholic to be disbarred. By 2nd Anne, Papist clergymen, coming into Ireland and performing religious exercises, to be hanged. But perhaps two of the most extraordinary of those penal enactments were that of the 9th George II., by which Papists residing in Ireland should make good to Protestants all losses sustained by the privateers of any Catholic king ravaging the coasts of Ireland; and the 29th George II., which has been interpreted as obliging barristers and attorneys to waive their privilege, and betray their clients, if Papists. It is scarcely necessary to add that, as a matter of course, all Catholics—that is, five-sixths of the entire population of the kingdom—were absolutely disfranchised by the 1st George II. (c. 9, s. 7), and deprived of the privilege of voting at municipal as well as parliamentary elections. And it should also, perhaps, be mentioned, as illustrative of the state of servitude in which our fellow-subjects daily lived in the last century in Ireland, that in the *Memoirs* of Mr. Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, it is stated that, in 1759, it was declared from the bench in Dublin, by the Lord Chancellor of the day—“That the laws did not presume an Irish Papist to exist in the kingdom, where they were only supposed to breathe, through the connivance of Government!”

Sir Henry Parnell, a distinguished ancestor of the present

distinguished statesman of the name, in his *History of the Penal Laws*, says—"The Irish Legislature passed the first Act towards "conciliating the Catholics in 1744." And a singular concession it was, being entitled—"An Act to enable His Majesty's subjects, "of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him" (13 & 14 George II. cap. 35). Previously, Catholics were not allowed to approach the king even to testify their loyalty. On the other hand, it was not difficult to approach his viceroy in Dublin Castle half a century later, when Pitt and Castlereagh were engaged in deluding some of the Catholic bishops with fair promises, never to be fulfilled, in the midst of the Rebellion of 1798—which Mr. Lecky says was deliberately provoked by Government for the purpose of helping them to carry the Union. There was at least one address presented to Lord Cornwallis at that period, from Bishop Lanigan of Ossory and his priests, which had a ludicrous ending, as it deserved. One of his Excellency's eyes, by some natural defect, appeared, like the pendulum of a clock, to be generally in motion. The bishop and clergy having never before seen the Marquis, unfortunately commenced their address with the most *mal à propos* exordium—"Your Excellency has always kept a steady eye on the interests "of Ireland." The address was publicly presented at Levee. His Excellency, however, was graciously pleased not to return any answer to that part of their compliment. Curran, on seeing the address, said that it was equal to the Mayor of Coventry's famous speech to Queen Elizabeth,—“When the Spanish “Armada attacked your Majesty, eod they got the wrong sow “by the ear.” The Queen on that historic occasion, it will be remembered, thoughtfully desired the Corporation of Coventry to return home, and she would *send* them a reply.

Apropos of Burke's reference to the Edict of Nantes, Mr. Lecky says, in the first volume of his *Eighteenth Century* :—

“Almost all the great persecutions of history, those of the “early Christians, of Catholics and Protestants on the Continent, “and, after the Revolution, of Catholics in England, were “directed against small minorities. It was the distinguishing “characteristic of the Irish penal code that its victims con-

“stituted at least three-fourths of the nation, and that it was
“deliberately intended to demoralise as well as degrade.”

And this distinguishing peculiarity of the Irish penal laws is also pointed out by Dr. Johnson, as related in his *Life* by Boswell, as follows :—

“The Irish are in a most unnatural state, for we there see
“the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no
“instance, even in the Ten Persecutions, of such severity as
“that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against
“the Catholics.”

In his *Crime and Disturbance in Ireland*, Sir Cornewall Lewis looks back upon the era of the penal laws, as being in great degree responsible for the miserable condition of modern Ireland; being no doubt in agreement with Mr. Lecky, that the present of a nation can only be explained by its past; and that “in dealing with strong sentiments of disloyalty and
“discontent it is of the utmost importance to trace the historical causes to which they may be due.” He, Sir C. Lewis, says :—

“Deprived of all self-respect by the operation of the Penal
“Statutes, prevented from rising in the world, or from bettering
“their condition, by legal disabilities and the legalised oppression of their landlords; without education, excluded from
“a public participation in the rites of their own religion, they
“endured all and more than the evils which belonged to the lot
“of a serf, without looking forward to the interested protection
“and relief which a master would afford to his bondman.”

One of our latest and best English historians, Green, is also well deserving of quotation on the subject. In his *Short History of the English People*, he observes as follows :—

“The history of Ireland, from its conquest by William III.
“up to this time [1815], is one which no Englishman can recall
“without shame. Since the surrender of Limerick every
“Catholic Irishman, and there were five Catholics to every
“Protestant, had been treated as a stranger and a foreigner
“in his own country. The House of Lords, the House of

“Commons, the right of voting for representatives in Parliament, the magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of Government or Justice, were closed against Catholics. Few Catholic landowners had been left by the sweeping confiscations which had followed the successive revolts of the island, and oppressive laws forced even these few, with scant exceptions, to profess Protestantism. Necessity, indeed, had brought about a practical toleration of their religion and their worship; but in all social and political matters, the native Catholics, in other words, the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Protestant masters.”

And elsewhere the historian describes the mournful consequences thus:—

“The silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace. But the peace was the peace of despair. No Englishman who loves what is noble in the English temper can tell without sorrow and shame the story of that time of guilt.”

In this awful story of persecution by means of penal laws in Ireland, there is just one redeeming feature, which is often touching and even beautiful. The laws were invented by men who cared not a straw for religion of any kind, and were only directed to the acquisition of the real and personal estate of the Catholics. Every historian, almost, who has related the story has testified to the fact. Arthur Young, most painstaking of English travellers, made a kind of house-to-house inquiry on the subject, towards the end of the last century, with the same result. He observes in his *Tour*:—

“I have conversed on the subject with some of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom, and I cannot after all but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of the laws of discovery as executed, are not against the Catholic religion, which increases under them, but against the industry and property of whoever professes that religion.”

This afforded the many generous, conscientious Protestants of the time a rare opportunity of showing themselves superior

to the villainy which wicked and covetous men had foisted upon their Christian creed. There were innumerable cases in which the oppressed Catholics were able to retain a vestige of their property only through the secret connivance and most faithful friendship of such good men. Of course it is probable enough that the trust was occasionally betrayed by designing knaves; but, so far as the present writer's researches have gone, such cases of betrayal on the part of Irish Protestants are not commonly mentioned by Irish historians. Hubert Burke, in the third volume of his *Tudor Dynasty* (Hodges¹), relates of a Protestant barber named Hill, who died in Clonmel, a poor man, in 1813, at an advanced age, that leasehold property to the amount of thousands of pounds was enjoyed by Catholics through his honourable connivance, the covenants being executed in his name. And he adds, that "a volume might be written "on the generous conduct of some Irish Protestants during the "evil doings inflicted on Ireland by the English penal laws."

The law in regard to horses was, indeed, had recourse to by Protestants of the baser sort sometimes, to the detriment of their Catholic neighbours, and the result was not seldom tragical. Wyse of Waterford had had his horses demanded of him in this way on the public road, and he was compelled to surrender them for the customary five guineas each. From that date he made protest against the robbery by driving bullocks as beasts of burden only. Geoghegan, a Westmeath gentleman, shot his horses dead rather than give them up alive; and afterwards proffered his choice of a pair of pistols to the rascal who had demanded the sacrifice of him. But one of the most tragical cases was that of a high-spirited young Catholic gentleman, named O'Leary, in Cork, who had been an officer in the Hungarian service. His horse had beaten that of a Protestant named Morris on a racecourse, between whom and O'Leary there was some grudge in regard to the property of the

¹ Mr. Gladstone has spoken of this work as "a distinct and valuable "addition to our knowledge of a remarkable period." It furnishes a vivid picture of a great era in English history.

latter. Morris meanly claimed the winning horse ; which the owner, however, refused to hand over for the legal price, though the refusal constituted a most serious offence under the penal statute. A scuffle ensued, from which O'Leary was obliged to fly for his life. By summary process he was proclaimed an outlaw on the spot, and pursued by soldiers, who shot him dead from an ambush. His brother, however, wreaked a bloody vengeance on Morris, by firing several shots into him through a street window in Cork, from the effects of which he died shortly after, his assailant escaping to America. Imagine, if you can, the kind of Christian civilisation which prevailed in Ireland in these days, little more than a hundred years ago (1773), when we are told further by Windele, that the law pursued the murdered O'Leary even in death, refusing him burial in consecrated ground till many years afterwards. By an Act of Parliament (2 Anne, c. 7), it was forbidden under a penalty of £10 to Catholics to bury their dead in any monastery, church, or abbey, not used for Protestant service. In life members of the two creeds were forbidden to intermarry ; in death they were forbidden to rest apart.

The penal law in regard to horses was found so detrimental to *good breeding*, that it was at one time enacted in Ireland (8 Anne, c. 3) that Papists might possess "stud mares and stallions, "and the breed or produce thereof under the age of five years," of a greater value than £5. A similar law enacted against English Catholics is frequently alluded to in the correspondence of Pope ; and readers of the English poets will scarce need be reminded of the Prologue to Dryden's *Don Sebastian* :—

"Horses by Papists are not to be ridden,
 "But sure the muses' horse was ne'er forbidden,
 "For in no rate-book it was ever found
 "That Pegasus was valued at five pound."

Both Pope and Dryden were themselves Papists, and the fact no doubt occasionally brought home to them the cruelty of being forbidden by law, on account of their creed, to ride on horseback like their Protestant acquaintances, except at the risk of losing all their worldly possessions. Still the position of the English

Catholics, who surrendered their faith without any such prolonged struggle, was very different from that of their co-religionists in Ireland; where the persecuted, on account of the tenacity of their faith, were the vast, overwhelming majority of the population of the kingdom. It was this distinction, too, that rendered the insolence of the insignificant Ascendancy party specially odious in Ireland; and tolerable only because it was backed up and encouraged by the whole power of England. There is a grotesque example of such insolence found in Irish literature, illustrating how the very dregs of the Cromwellian settlers in the kingdom gave themselves airs of superiority in their social relations with the Catholics. During the agitation which preceded the Catholic Relief Act, a grandiloquent Dublin Town Councillor, who was a tailor by trade, is reported to have spoken as follows, at one of those Corporation banquets from which the Catholics were jealously excluded in the good old days of the Ascendancy:—

“My word,” exclaimed this Knight of the goose, “these Papists may get their emancipation, they may sit in Parliament, they may preside upon the Bench; a Papist may become Lord Chancellor or Privy Councillor, but never, *never* shall one of them set foot amongst the ancient and loyal Guild of Tailors!”

By the Relief Act of 1793, the Catholics for the first time became entitled to the Parliamentary franchise, which they had not enjoyed since the first year of the reign of George II. (1727), a period of sixty-six years. Quickly availing themselves of their new privileges, they at once began to influence the elections, though it was only by open voting under the direction of their landlords, and they did not dare for yet another generation to give an independent vote. Irish landlords of the present day are often found bewailing the fact that their tenants have divided their holdings amongst members of the same family till the quantity left to each is insufficient for subsistence. But this is only a blind cleverly contrived to deceive or mislead the British newspaper reader. The landlords connived at and encouraged the practice themselves, to increase

their rental and their political influence at the same time. To extend this influence, the landlord freely leased his poor serfs small patches of land sufficient to enable them to claim the franchise. In this way those subservient creatures multiplied till, in 1826, under the influence of O'Connell, they broke away from their chains, and in defiance of threats of extirpation, supported the Protestant friends of Catholic Emancipation at the general election of that year. For the newly enfranchised, however, the first inclination towards independent voting meant ruin for their entire class. Their landlords and masters watching the symptoms of a rebellious spirit against their ungentle rule, were beforehand with them, and introduced measures in Parliament as early as 1815—to facilitate ejectment—which have not even yet run their full course, being in active operation at the present day to effect the extermination of their descendants. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 5th of March 1829, Sir Robert Peel was quite pathetic over the loss of power which the landlords sustained by the electoral revolt of the peasants at that period:—

“It is vain to deny or to conceal the truth in respect to “that franchise [the forty-shilling franchise],” Sir Robert observed. “It was, until a late period, the instrument through “which the landed aristocracy—the resident and the absentee “proprietor, maintained their local influence—through which “property had its weight, its legitimate weight, in the national “representation. . . . That weapon which [the landlord] has “forged with so much care, and has heretofore wielded with “such success, has broken short in his hand.”

Thanks to the Duke of Wellington (oblivious of his obligations to Irish soldiers) and Peel, however, means were quickly found to re-establish the equilibrium as of old. Both statesmen openly confessed sixty years ago, that they would not have conceded Catholic Emancipation, if the measure could have been avoided without incurring greater dangers. But having to do it under compulsion, they paid off the emancipated by concurrent disfranchisement; and took very special care that none of the long expected fruits of their victory should moisten the lips of

the Catholics for many a year to come. No wonder we find the present Lord Derby, more than half a century afterwards, saying that "Irishmen, to speak plainly, are not likely to thank "us for a gift, which was only conferred because it could not "be safely withheld." And yet, with the knowledge that the British Government have always been the persecutors. in Ireland, every political charlatan who mounts a platform in the three kingdoms endeavours to instil into the minds of the English people that the Catholics must of necessity be the persecutors of the Protestants in that country, when the Irish have Home Rule. There is absolutely no foundation for any such unworthy suspicion, as the reader will be convinced on perusing the Eighteenth Chapter of the author's companion volume, *Why Ireland wants Home Rule*. The opinions of eminent Protestant writers are clear on the subject; such as Leland, in his *History of Ireland*; Taylor, in his *Civil Wars of Ireland*; Sydney Smith, in his *Works*; and Mr. Lecky, who says, writing of the Irish Catholics in his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, volume the second:—

"Their original conversion to Christianity was probably accompanied by less violence and bloodshed than that of any "equally considerable nation in Europe; and in spite of the "fearful calamities which followed the Reformation, it is a "memorable fact that not a single Protestant suffered for his "religion in Ireland during all the period of the Marian persecution in England. The treatment of Bedell, a Protestant "prelate, during the outbreak of 1641, and the Act establishing "liberty of conscience, passed by the Irish Parliament in 1689, "in the full flush of the brief Catholic ascendancy under James "II., exhibit very remarkably this aspect of the Irish character. "And it was displayed in another form scarcely less vividly "during the Quaker missions, which began towards the close of "the Commonwealth, and continued with little intermission for "two generations. The experience of John Wesley, half a "century later, was very similar; and he has more than once "in his *Journal* spoken in terms of warm appreciation of the "docile and tolerant spirit he almost everywhere encountered "[in Ireland]."

[CHAPTER XXI.]

DESTRUCTION OF MANUFACTURING AND COMMERCIAL INDUSTRIES.

"In acting upon these commercial restrictions," observes Sir Walter Scott in his life of Swift, "wrong was heaped upon wrong, and insult was added to injury, with this advantage, on the side of the aggressors, that they could intimidate the injured people of Ireland into silence, by raising, to drown every complaint, the cry of *rebel* and *Jacobite*. These evils Swift beheld, with all the natural ardour of a disposition which rose in opposition to tyranny. 'Do not,' said he to Delany, 'the corruptions and villainies of men eat your flesh, and exhaust your spirits?'"

THE national system of education in Ireland was designed by the late Lord Derby, and so styled officially was regarded as a satire by the Irish people, who soon saw that its primary object was to erase from the youthful Irish mind every trace of national spirit, and, in some measure, of national knowledge. The old practice of suppressing political information was still rife. In the last century, Hutchinson, Lucas, Molyneux, and Swift, for exposing the iniquitous laws which had reduced Ireland to beggary, were persecuted, prosecuted, or exiled, and their works burnt by the common hangman. Swift was obliged to veil his truths in sarcasm or allegory to get them printed at all, at a time (1720) when the Lords Justices actually prohibited the sale of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, considering that work of a seditious nature. The school text-books were now so contrived, chiefly by the unscrupulous handling of Archbishop Whateley, as to exclude all information in regard to Irish history. The very name of Ireland was practically *boycotted* in the early editions, and from the later ones were expunged by the censor as perilous reading, suggestive of treason and rebellion to the untutored mind of

young Paddy, Scott's noble lines, "Breathes there a man
 "with soul so dead," together with Campbell's spirited lyric,
 "The Downfall of Poland." The selfishness of the English
 Parliament in destroying Irish manufacturing industries of
 every kind in the last century, to guard against an imaginary
 injury to English trade and commerce by competition, has
 been the theme of denunciation, by English writers, for
 more than a hundred years, beginning with Arthur Young, and
 ending with Mr. Froude and Mr. Green. But in this text-
 book of the Irish National Board of Education, the Irish child
 was taught that the manufactures and commerce of Ireland
 were destroyed "by unlawful combinations" on the part
 of her own sons! What, however, are the facts? Till the
 reign of Charles II. England placed no restriction on Irish
 commerce or manufactures. The first Navigation Act of 1660
 put England and Ireland on terms of equality. "But," as
 Mr. Froude observes in his *English in Ireland*, "the equality
 "of privilege lasted only till the conclusion of the settlement,
 "till the revenue had been assigned to the Crown." In the
 amended Navigation Act of 1663, Ireland was left out. This
 Act, which was entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of
 "Trade," prohibited all exports from Ireland to the colonies. A
 subsequent British Act declared the importation of Irish cattle
 into England to be "a publick and common nuisance" (18 Car.
 II., cap. 2). It likewise forbade the importation of beef, pork,
 and bacon. Butter and cheese from Ireland were subsequently
 excluded, and the previous statute excluding cattle was made
 perpetual. In 1670 the exportation to Ireland from the Eng-
 lish plantations of sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger,
 fustic or other dyeing wood, the growth of the said plantations,
 was prohibited by statute. Restrictions were placed on the glass
 trade, silk, hops, Irish beer and malt, and every other branch
 of trade besides.

But the most destructive of all English prohibitions regarded
 the wool and woollen trade, whatever pretence the English
 Parliament attempted to put forward against Ireland, as though
 she were an enemy's country. By the 10 & 11 Will. III., cap.

10, the export of wool and of the woollen manufacture from Ireland were prohibited under the forfeiture of goods and ship, and a penalty of £500 for every such offence. The English Parliament decreed, moreover, that whoever infringed the law made in favour of English manufactures, should be liable to a trial before the courts both of England and Ireland; and in case of an acquittal in the latter country, he might at any time be again seized and tried in an English court. Ireland's greatest industries were thus, one by one, sacrificed to England's commercial jealousy, until at length Edmund Burke felt himself constrained to ask:—

“Is Ireland united to the Crown of Great Britain for no other purpose than that we should counteract the bounty of Providence in her favour, and in proportion as that bounty has been liberal that we are to regard it as an evil which is to be met with in every sort of corrective?”

As Mr. Lecky has told the story of the penal laws in Ireland, so now Mr. Froude shall relate how trade and commerce were destroyed in that kingdom. Mr. Froude says, in the first volume of his *English in Ireland*:—

“England governed for what she deemed her own interest, making her calculation on the gross balance of her trade ledgers, and leaving her moral obligations to accumulate, as if right and wrong had been blotted out of the Statute-book of the universe. . . . The English deliberately determined to keep Ireland poor and miserable as the readiest means to prevent it being troublesome. They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufactures by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on its wretched agriculture, for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmer. . . . With their shipping destroyed by the Navigation Act, their woollen manufactures taken from them, their trade in all its branches crippled and confined, the single resource left to those of the Irish who still nourished dreams of improving their unfortunate country was agriculture. The soil at least was their own, which needed only to be drained, cleared of weeds, and manured, to produce grass crops and corn crops as rich as the best in England. Here was employment for a population

"three times more numerous than as yet existed. Here was a
 "prospect, if not of commercial wealth, yet of substantial com-
 "fort and material abundance. . . . But the tenants were for-
 "bidden in their leases to break or plough the soil. The
 "people no longer employed were driven away into holes and
 "corners, and eked out a wretched subsistence by potato
 "gardens, or by keeping starving cattle of their own on the
 "neglected bogs. . . . The disgrace of allowing a nation of
 "human beings to subsist under such conditions forced itself at
 "last on the conscience of the Irish Parliament, and though
 "composed of landowners, who were tempted as much as others
 "to let their farms on the terms most profitable to them, the
 "House of Commons, in 1716, resolved unanimously to make
 "an effort for a general change of system, and to reclaim both
 "people and country by bringing back and stimulating agri-
 "culture. They passed a vote that covenants which prohibited
 "the breaking soil with the plough were impolitic, and should
 "have no binding force. They passed heads of a bill, which
 "they recommended with the utmost earnestness to the con-
 "sideration of the English Council, enjoining that for every
 "hundred acres which any tenant held he should break up and
 "cultivate five, and, as a further encouragement, that a trifling
 "bounty should be granted by the Government on corn grown
 "for exportation. And what did England answer? England,
 "which was so wisely anxious for the prosperity of the Pro-
 "testant interest in Ireland: England, which was struggling so
 "pathetically to make the Irish peers and gentlemen under-
 "stand the things that belonged to their peace? The bounty
 "system might, or might not, have been well calculated to pro-
 "duce the effect which Ireland desired. It was the system,
 "however, which England herself practised with every industry
 "which she wished to encourage, and it was not on economic
 "grounds that the Privy Council rejected a bill which they
 "ought rather to have thrust of their own accord on Irish ac-
 "ceptance. The real motive was probably the same which had
 "led to the suppression of the manufactures; the detestable
 "opinion that to govern Ireland conveniently Ireland must be
 "kept weak. Although the corn consumed in Ireland had been
 "for many years imported, the English farmers were haunted
 "with a terror of being undersold in their own and foreign
 "markets by a country where labour was cheap. A motive so
 "iniquitous could not be confessed, but the objections which
 "the Council were not ashamed to allege were scarcely less dis-

“graceful to them. The English manufacturers having secured, as they supposed, the monopoly of Irish wool on their own terms, conceived that the whole soil of Ireland ought to be devoted to growing it.”

And in his second volume, Mr. Froude makes these additional reflections on English government in Ireland :—

“If the high persons at the head of the great British Empire had deliberately considered by what means they could condemn Ireland to remain the scandal of their rule, they could have chosen no measures better suited to their end than those which they had pursued unrelentingly through three-quarters of a century. By definite acts of unjust legislation they were forcing the entire people to abandon themselves to the potato, and to sit down to brood over their wrongs in a paralysis of anger and despair.”

Finally, the same historian thus describes the condition of Ireland in 1779 in consequence :—

“The grand juries represented that the fields and highways were filled with crowds of wretched beings half-naked and starving. Foreign markets were closed to them. The home market was destroyed by internal distress, and the poor artisans who had supported themselves by weaving were without work and without food. They had bought English goods as long as they had the means to buy them. Now, in their time of dire distress, they had hoped the English Parliament would be their friend. They learnt with pain and surprise that the only boon which could give them relief was still withheld. They besought the king to interpose in their favour, and procure them leave to export and sell at least the coarse frieze blankets and flannels, which the peasants’ wives and children produced in their cabins. Eloquence and entreaty were alike in vain. The English Parliament, though compelled at least to listen to the truth, could not yet bend itself to act upon it. The House of Commons still refused to open the woollen trade in whole or in part, and Ireland, now desperate and determined, and treading ominously in the steps of America, adopted the measures which long before had been recommended by Swift, and resolved to exclude from the Irish market every article of British manufacture which could be produced at home.”

So far Mr. Froude. Others shall now briefly describe the manner in which the stolid obstinacy in injustice on the part of the British Parliament was finally overcome. It was the old story of apprehension on account of the struggle with the American continent. Less than fifty years ago Sir Robert Peel told the House of Commons one night in trembling accents that he was glad he had just sent a "message of peace to "Ireland," in the shape of an addition to the inadequate Maynooth grant, as there had arisen "the cloud no bigger than a man's "hand" over the Western continent on account of the threatening Oregon difficulty. Surely so great a minister should have been ashamed of such an avowal, when if England would only act justly towards Ireland, by attempting some great healing measure of restitution for the unhappy past, the United Kingdom might safely defy the world in arms. The Earl of Shelburne, speaking in the English House of Lords, on the 1st of December 1779, thus described the determined attitude of Ireland under the circumstances referred to by Mr. Froude:—

"Ireland disclaimed any connection with Great Britain, she "instantly put herself in a condition of defence against her "foreign enemies [amongst whom England was at that time the "worst, and, if the truth must be told, the only one]; oppressed at one time by England, and at length reduced to a "state of calamity and distress experienced by no other country "that ever existed, unless visited by war or famine, and perceiving that all prospect of justice or relief was in a manner "finally closed, and that she must perish or work out her own "salvation, she united as one man to rescue herself from that "approaching destruction which seemed to await her. The "people instantly armed themselves, and the numbers armed "soon increased to upwards of 40,000 men, and were daily "augmenting. This most formidable body was not composed "of mercenaries, who had little or no interest in the issue, but "of the nobility, gentry, merchants, citizens, and respectable "yeomanry, men able and willing to devote their time and part "of their property to the defence of the whole and the protection and security of their country. The Government had "been abdicated, and the people resumed the powers vested in "it, and in doing so, were fully authorised by every principle "of the Constitution, and every motive of self-preservation."

And Edmund Burke, speaking at the Guildhall, Bristol, in 1780, has described in memorable words the humiliating capitulation which immediately followed; and which would follow again to-morrow if the Irish were only united now as then, for our present Prime Minister has no stomach for determined opposition of any kind :—

“The British Parliament,” Burke observed, “in a former session, frightened into a limited concession by the menaces of Ireland, frightened out of it by the menaces of England, were now frightened back again, and made an universal surrender of all that had been thought the peculiar, reserved, uncommunicable rights of England—the exclusive commerce of America, of Africa, of the West Indies, all the enumerations of the Acts of Navigation, all the manufactures—iron, glass, even the sacred fleece itself—all went together. No reserve, no exception, no debate, no discussion. A sudden light broke in upon us all. It broke in, not through well-contrived and well-disposed windows, but through flaws and breaches, through the yawning chasms of our ruin. We were taught wisdom by humiliation. No town in England presumed to have a prejudice or dared to mutter a petition. What was worse, the whole Parliament of England, which retained authority for nothing but surrenders, was despoiled of every shadow of its superintendence. It was, without any qualification, denied in theory as it had been trampled upon in practice.”

As the reader very properly requires chapter and verse for this incredible story throughout, perhaps it is as well to mention that, in the present instance, Mr. Froude supplies both. Referring to the addresses presented to William III. by the two Houses of Parliament in 1698 clamouring for the total destruction of the Irish woollen manufactures, the historian says :—

“The King replied briefly that the wish of Parliament should be carried out, and Ireland was invited to apply the knife to her own throat. Two letters of William to the Lords Justices survive in Dublin Castle, embodying the words of the two Addresses, and recommending to the Legislature the worst and most fatal of all the mistaken legislative experiments to which a dependent country was ever subjected by the folly of its superiors. The Irish House, in dread of abolition if they refused, relying on the promise of encouragement to their linen trade, and otherwise unable to help themselves, acquiesced.”

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CONSTANT NEGLECT AND SETTING ASIDE OF IRISH INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

"Except on two emergencies Parliament has done nothing for the people of Ireland ; and, more than that, their complaints have been met—complaints of their sufferings have been met—often by denial, often by insult, often by contempt."—JOHN BRIGHT.

IN the reign of Edward I. eight thousand marks were offered to the king, through Ufford, Justiciary, provided he would extend English laws to the Irish people. Edward's reply is sufficiently characteristic both of his wisdom and his rapaciousness. In volume iii. of his *History of England*, Hallam observes :—

"Edward is satisfied of the expediency of granting the request, provided it can be done with the general consent of the prelates and nobles of Ireland [English by birth or descent], and directs the justiciary, if he can obtain that concurrence, to agree with the petitioners for the highest fine he can obtain, and for a body of good and stout soldiers. But this necessary consent of the aristocracy was withheld. Excuses were made to evade the king's desire. It was wholly incompatible with their systematic encroachments on their Irish neighbours to give them the safeguard of the king's writ for their possessions. The Irish renewed their supplication more than once, both to Edward I. and Edward III. ; they found the same readiness in the English court ; they sunk at home through the same unconquerable oligarchy."

In the reign of Elizabeth the object and policy of English domination were different. Leland says, for instance, that wherever the Irish had driven the royalists into their fortified towns, and freed themselves from English molestation, "they

“had cultivated their lands, and established an unusual “regularity and plenty in their districts.” But Irish peace, plenty, and prosperity formed no part of English policy. It appears rather that the oppression of Ireland, the slaughter of her inhabitants, and the perpetuation of social discord, were regularly established as a measure of State policy. The following are the words of the historian :—

“Some of her (Elizabeth’s) counsellors appear to have conceived an odious jealousy which reconciled them to the “distractions and miseries of Ireland. ‘Should we exert “ourselves,’ said they, ‘in reducing this country to order and “civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and riches. “The inhabitants will thus be alienated from England; they “will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or “perhaps erect themselves into an independent and separate “State. Let us rather connive at their disorders; for a weak “and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves “from the Crown of England.’ We find Sir Henry Sydney “and Sir John Perrot, who perfectly understood the affairs of “Ireland, and the dispositions of its inhabitants, both expressing the utmost indignation at this horrid policy, which yet “had found its way into the English Parliament.”

Yet is it the policy of Lords Hartington and Salisbury at the present time, the “detestable policy,” as Mr. Froude calls it, of keeping Ireland in rags and dissension that she may be more easily governed. According to Sir John Davis, in his well-known *Discoverie* :—

“For the space of 200 years at least, after the arrival of “Henry II. in Ireland, the Irish would gladly have embraced “the laws of England, and did earnestly desire the benefit and “protection thereof; which being denied them, did of necessity “cause a continual bordering war between the English and “Irish. . . . It is manifest, that such as had the government “of Ireland under the Crowne of England [till the reign of “Henry VIII.] did intend to make a perpetuall separation and “enmity betweene the English and the Irish; pretending (no “doubt) that the English should in the end roote out the Irish;

“ which the English not being able to do, did cause a perpetuall
“ warre betweene the nations.”

Mr. Froude, in the tenth volume of his *History of England*, supplies a connecting link between the period, at the end of the fourteenth century, indicated by Sir John Davis, and the reign of James I. by observing that :—

“ The suppression of the Catholic services, enforced wherever
“ the English had power, and hanging before the people as a calamity sure to follow as the limits of that power were extended,
“ created a weight of animosity which no other measure could
“ have produced, and alone made the problem of Irish administration hopelessly insoluble. The language of the Archbishop
“ of Cashel to Cardinal Alciati shows that before the Government
“ [of Elizabeth] attempted to force a religion upon them *which*
“ *had not a single honest advocate in the whole nation*, there
“ was no incurable disloyalty. If they [the Irish] were left
“ with their own lands, their own laws, and their own creed,
“ the chiefs were willing to acknowledge the English Sovereign.
“ It cannot be said that England deserved to keep a country
“ which it mismanaged so disastrously. The Irish were not to
“ be blamed if they looked to the Pope, to Spain, to France, to
“ any friend on earth, or in Heaven, to deliver them from a
“ power which discharged no single duty that rulers owe to
“ subjects.”

It would not be possible within the limits of a short chapter to recount the vain struggles of Ireland for equal laws and just Government from the reign of Elizabeth to the Union in 1801. It was one long, dismal, almost unbroken period of wars and famines ; wholesale confiscations and atrocious penal laws ; not to speak of the annihilation by England of Irish manufacturing industry in the eighteenth century. Just as Mr. Froude found the disastrous relations between the two kingdoms under the Tudors, so does Mr. Gladstone find them under the Georges, two centuries later. Speaking at a National Conference on the Bulgarian question, held at St. James's Hall, on the 8th of December 1876, and referring to that misrule in 1776, Mr. Gladstone said :—

“ We can understand the case [of the Turk] by looking nearer

“home. We have in it the difference of race, the difference of religion, and we have these differences accompanied by unrestrained political ascendancy. It is when you combine these three conditions that you put the ascendant class in a position in which they yield to corruption. . . . The state of things existing in Ireland a hundred years ago, we all now look back upon with shame and pain. We admit that it was intolerable. . . . If there had been, at that time, any clean-handed Power in Europe able to interfere, and able to right the wrongs of Ireland, that Power would have deserved the gratitude of mankind.”

When making his great Home Rule speeches in Parliament in 1886, Mr. Gladstone effectively quoted Mr. Froude in support of some of his arguments. It is interesting to see how Mr. Froude, in turn, supports Mr. Gladstone, as regards the extent of English misrule in Ireland towards the close of the eighteenth century. This is how Mr. Froude speaks of the events which preceded the rebellion of 1798 :—

“The long era of misgovernment had ripened at last for the harvest. Rarely since the inhabitants of the earth have formed themselves into civilised communities had any country suffered from such a complication of neglect and ill-usage.”

Nor will it be seriously contended that the Irish policy of the British Government between the Union in 1801 and the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829 was actuated by any desire to do justice or to redress grievances. On the contrary, the obnoxious system of Protestant ascendancy was maintained as long as possible, and Catholic Emancipation was only reluctantly and ungraciously conceded out of fear of rebellion and civil war. Pray hear Mr. Lecky :—

“Year after year,” he observes, in his *Leaders of Public Opinion*, “Grattan and Plunket brought forward the case of their fellow-countrymen with an eloquence and a perseverance worthy of their great cause ; but year after year they were defeated. It was not till the great tribune [O’Connell] had arisen, till he had moulded his co-religionists into one compact and threatening mass, and had brought the country to the verge of revolution, that the tardy boon was

“conceded. Eloquence and argument proved alike unavailing
 “when unaccompanied by menace, and Catholic Emancipation
 “was confessedly granted, because to withhold it would be to
 “produce a rebellion.”

For six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, from 1829 to 1835, it remained a dead letter as far as the Government could keep it so. The Irish people could no longer be prevented from sending representatives of their own religion to Parliament; but not a single Catholic was admitted to the magistracy or appointed to any civil office in Ireland; and this state of things went on not only under the Tory Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, but also under their successors, the Whig Ministry of Lord Grey, which came into office in 1831. It was impossible, writes Lord Wellesley, the Viceroy, in a confidential letter to ministers, to suppose a whole nation could repose confidence in the Government, when so large a portion of the people were practically excluded from all share in the higher offices of the state, “while their right of admission was established by law.” Of the period between the Union and 1829, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., gives the following summary in his *Peel and O’Connell*:—

“Ireland had been in a disturbed and distracted condition
 “ever since [the Union]. It had been impossible during
 “almost any two consecutive years to govern it by the ordinary
 “law. Every year, with rare exceptions, brought the demand
 “on Parliament for coercive laws for Ireland, differing only in
 “method and degree. The most common forms were the
 “suppression of trial by jury, the suspension of the Habeas
 “Corpus Act, the prohibition of public meetings, and of the
 “right to carry arms; but occasionally there was added the
 “provision of martial law, and the curfew clauses. No attempt
 “had been made to apply remedial measures to the country.
 “The grievances which the people suffered under the tithe
 “system were allowed to pass unchecked. No proposal was
 “made to interfere with the arbitrary power of landlords; on
 “the contrary, the Acts of 1815 and 1817 greatly increased the
 “powers of landlords, and facilitated ejectment. During the
 “interval, also, the taxes in Ireland had been nearly trebled
 “in amount, without equivalent benefit to the English ex-

“chequer, and without adding materially to the resources and power of the empire. Previous to the Union the Irish Parliament had rarely voted more than 12,000 men for the army. Subsequent to it, the force maintained in Ireland, during the war with France, was increased to 40,000; and after the peace, was never less than 25,000 men.”

All through the present century there have been no end of Commissions and Select Committees to inquire into the condition of the agricultural population whenever Parliament was alarmed by serious disturbance in Ireland. Those Commissions and Committees reported and recommended in vain. The story of Parliamentary dealings with the Irish Fisheries and Waste Lands to be found elsewhere is sufficiently illustrative of Parliamentary incompetence generally to deal with Irish questions. The Committees, for instance, expressed their entire conviction of the practicability of cultivating with profit an immense extent of land lying waste; but their recommendations, as has been stated, never led to anything. As far back as 1845, the year before the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Devon Commission, perhaps the most important of all the Commissions which have inquired into the state of Ireland, reported as follows:—

“The whole of that vast mass of evidence taken by the Commissioners in reference to the mutual relation existing between the proprietors and occupiers of land in Ireland, is at once conclusive, painfully interesting, and most portentous in its character. It proves that the safety of the country, and the respective interests of both these classes, call loudly for a cautious but immediate adjustment of the grave questions at issue between them. In every district of the country we find that a widely-spread and daily-increasing confusion as to the respective rights and claims of these classes exists; and it is impossible to reject the conviction that, unless they be distinctly defined and respected, much social disorder and national inconvenience must inevitably be the consequence. . . . Landowners do not appear aware of the peril which thus threatens their property, and which must increase every day that they defer to establish the rights of the tenant on a definite and equitable footing. Although it is certainly desirable that the fair remuneration to which a tenant is entitled for his outlay

“of capital or labour in permanent improvements should be secured to him by voluntary agreement rather than by compulsion of law, yet, upon a review of all the evidence furnished to us upon the subject, we believe that some legislative measure will be found necessary to give efficacy to such agreements, as well as to provide for those cases which cannot be settled by private arrangement. We earnestly hope that the Legislature will be disposed to entertain a bill of this nature, and to pass it into law with as little delay as is consistent with a full discussion of its principles and details.”

Year after year the attempt was renewed, sometimes by the Government of the day, sometimes by private members, to give effect to the recommendation of the Devon Commission, and thus, by a simple act of justice, to cut away the foundation that underlay the whole network of Irish grievance and discontent. But the story of the attempt of 1845 was repeated for many long years. Bill after bill, aiming at providing for the tenant the right of compensation for his improvements, was introduced, was opposed by the Government of the day at the instigation of the landlords, and then, as a matter of course, was either rejected by a vote of Parliament or dropped. A few specimens of the opposing oratory of the period will suffice to show the spirit in which attempts of the kind were viewed by even the most distinguished statesmen. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 27th of February 1865, the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, thus contemptuously dismissed any hope that might possibly be entertained in respect to the recommendations of this most important Royal Commission:—

“As to tenant-right,” he observed, “I may be allowed to say that I think it is equivalent to landlords’ wrong. Tenant-right, as I understand it to be proposed, would be little short of confiscation; and although that might cause the Irish landlords [of whom he was himself one] to emigrate, it certainly would not keep the tenants at home.”

In the same year, on the 23rd of June, Mr. Cardwell, another representative statesman, dismissed the subject of tenant-right into space in like manner:—

"I am exceedingly glad," he said, "that we are not about to separate under the imputation of having given an uncertain sound upon this subject. . . . I wish to express my individual opinion that, by whatever name it may be called, compulsory compensation for improvements effected against the will of the landlord is not a principle which is consistent with the rights of property."

As though any one had ever heard of improvements being effected on a landlord's property against his will! The Irish people could not even obtain an inquiry in that year into the operation of a recent trifling Land Act, described by Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, as being an act "most restricted in its terms," which had proved a dead letter. Mr. Roebuck attacked the proposal for an inquiry in language of studied insult towards the Irish Nationalist members, then few in number, and his rancorous insolence was rewarded by cheers from both sides of the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston significantly nodding his assent. It was one of these occasions when Irish complaint was met, as Mr. Bright has said, "by denial, by insult, and by contempt." The bare notion of considering any proposal for the recognition of the tenants' improvements on the land was determinedly flouted by Lord Palmerston. Yet the custom of tenant right had existed in Ulster for generations; and was, as Lord Palmerston well knew, the foundation of any exceptional prosperity there existing. Nay, it was given in evidence before the Devon Commission, by Mr. Hancock, the agent of one of the most extensive Ulster landed proprietors (Lord Headfort), that not all the military resources of the Horse Guards would enable the Ulster landlords to violate that custom, if they dared attempt it. Mr. Hancock said:—

"The landlords are compelled to recognise tenant right; as, in several instances in this neighbourhood, where they have refused to allow tenant right, the incoming tenant's house has been burned, his cattle houghed, or his crops trodden down by night. The disallowance of tenant right, as far as I know, is always attended with outrage. A landlord cannot even resume possession to himself without paying for it. In fact, tenant right is one of the sacred rights of the country, which cannot

“be touched with impunity. And if systematic attempts were made amongst the proprietors of Ulster to invade tenant right, I do not believe there is a force at the disposal of the Horse Guards sufficient to keep the peace of the province.”

Yet, if you were to listen to a certain class of politicians in Parliament, you might almost be persuaded to believe that Ulster Protestant tenants were such pious, peaceful mortals as to be—no matter what the provocation—incapable of pulling a trigger against the landlord. Mr. Hancock was not of that opinion. Lord Palmerston died on the 18th of October 1865. Had he lived into the next year he would have witnessed the result of his fatuous policy in the rise of a formidable political organisation of Irish Americans, whose declared object was the overthrow of British authority in Ireland, and the establishment of an Irish republic, in friendship with the United States, upon the ruins. Who was responsible for the long weary months of anxiety and apprehension experienced by English statesmen at that period in consequence? The Irish landlords? Not a bit of it. Let us put the saddle on the right horse. The responsibility lay with the numerous politicians of eminence, on both sides of the House of Commons, who had systematically turned a deaf ear to those petitions of the Irish people, for even a modicum of justice and mercy, with which Parliament was annually besieged. Proofs on the subject are lying about everywhere, abundant, innumerable, and overflowing. The *Times* has not always been the enemy of Ireland, as will occasionally be seen in these pages. On the 26th of June, in the memorable year of 1845, the year of the Devon Commission, and just upon the eve of the great famine, the leading journal, in a fit of indignation against Parliament, thus scornfully criticised the farcical character of those various Royal Commissions of Inquiry, and the manifest insincerity of their chief promoters on both sides of the House of Commons:—

“The jealous eyes of rival empires,” observed the *Times*, “have long been fixed on the nation which has so sternly held its conquest [in Ireland], and still so thoroughly maintains its ascendancy, to watch how it treats a humbled realm. We

“are forced to [acknowledge], that though the fact [of frightful destitution, affecting 4,500,000 human beings, equal to half the entire population of Ireland before the famine] is the most notorious in the whole world, the Legislature has for those forty-five years [since the Union] done little more than continually ask the question whether it be so or no. It has thought it enough to depute its curiosity to a Commission, and entomb the answer in a report. Almost annual Commissions have superseded their predecessors, only to add one more volume to the forgotten series. When it is no longer decent or possible to go on asking or forgetting, the next thing is to baffle and delude. . . . It is a fatal assumption to ascribe these calamities exclusively to the errors and infirmities of the Irish character; and set about alternately coercing and cajoling, as it were a child or a maniac we had to deal with. No empire has ever yet treated a whole section of its subjects as inferior in heart and mind without incurring the condemnation of posterity. Easy and self-flattering as such a course may be to the powerful party, it never will go down with the world at large.”

Four years later, on the 23rd July 1849, Mr. Horsman (afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland) moved—“That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to take into her consideration the condition of Ireland.” He asked:—

“What have we done for Ireland? . . . Ireland is now entering on the aggravated trials of a fourth year of famine. All her social state was disorganised; the ruin in some districts was so complete that sixty per cent. of her population are receiving relief. [What are the causes which have produced such results?] Bad legislation, careless legislation, criminal legislation, have been the cause of all [the disasters we are now deploring]. . . . Of a population of eight millions, there were (as the Archbishop of Dublin’s Commission stated), no less than two millions three hundred thousand for the greater part of the year out of work, and in distress. And such was their physical prostration, that in the four poorest counties, the average duration of life for the ten years preceding the famine, was twenty-six years.”

A study of *Hansard* about the period of the great Irish famine 1846–7 would lead one to believe that Lord John

Russell meditated some generous policy in regard to Ireland. But having joined the Protectionists in ousting Sir Robert Peel from office shortly before on an Irish Coercion Bill, the latter was now always on the watch to pay him off with a like compliment in return. When Lord John brought in his Irish Waste Lands Bill as a measure of mercy in behalf of a starving people, he was easily turned aside from his course by a "bland admonition" from Sir Robert, as it is termed by Mr. Disraeli in his *Biography* of Lord George Bentinck. Never mind whether the subject was specially commended to the attention of Parliament by the Devon Commission only a year or two before; or the fact that Sir Robert had himself proposed dealing with it at one proximate period of his own career; the positions are now reversed though the conditions may be the same. And, besides, had not both Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel jointly given the *coup de grâce* to Lord George Bentinck's alternative measure for the construction of an extensive system of Irish railways? Thus:—

"While Tories marr'd what Whigs had scarce begun,
While Whigs undid what Whigs themselves had done."

It was but the old story of Ireland furnishing a battlefield for English parties, and providing them with weapons with which they might assail one another to their hearts' content. But as for measures having for their object the real interest of the Irish people, those were not to come, as Mr. Bright said in a published letter of the 27th of January 1868, while "our rulers, though uncomfortable, are not sufficiently alarmed [by Ireland] to yield." The chain must remain unbroken pending some new catastrophe, like that of the revolt of the American colonies; when, as Mr. Froude expresses it in the second volume of his *English in Ireland*—Ireland will be taught once more "the deadly lesson that her real wrongs would receive attention only when England was compelled to remember them through fear."

The following table shows the constant rejection of remedial measures in Parliament since 1829, and is in melancholy contrast with another table of statistics inserted elsewhere, showing

the facility with which Coercion Acts, almost as numerous, were passed, sometimes hurriedly, through both Houses of Parliament within the same period of half a century :—

1829.	Brownlow's Bill dropped in Lords.	
1830.	Grattan's Waste Land Bill refused.	
1831.	Smith's Bill for Relief of the Aged dropped.	
1835.	Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1836.	Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1836.	Lynch's Reclamation Bill dropped.	
1845.	Lord Stanley's Bill dropped.	
1845.	Sharman Crawford's Bill dropped.	
1846.	Mr. Sharman Crawford's Bill.	Abortive.
1846.	Lord Lincoln, Secretary for Ireland's Bill	do.
1847.	Mr. Sharman Crawford's Bill . . .	do.
1848.	Sir W. Somerville's Bill . . .	do.
1848.	Mr. Sharman Crawford's Bill . . .	do.
1849.	Mr. Pusey's Bill . . .	do.
1850.	Sir W. Somerville's Bill . . .	do.
1850.	Mr. S. Crawford's Bill . . .	do.
1851.	Mr. S. Crawford's Bill . . .	do.
1852.	Mr. S. Crawford's Bill . . .	do.
1853.	Mr. Napier's Bill . . .	do.
1853.	Mr. Serjeant Shee's Bill . . .	do.
1855.	Mr. Serjeant Shee's Bill . . .	do.
1856-1857.	Mr. Moore's Bill . . .	do.
1858.	Mr. Maguire's Bill . . .	do.

We have no published record of the abortive Land Bills presented to Parliament between 1858 and 1868, when Mr. Gladstone first notified his intention of dealing with the Irish difficulty. The list of Coercion Acts passed (not merely Bills presented) by Parliament since the date of the Union in 1801, will, however, be found tolerably complete in another page. Meanwhile we resume our list as follows :—

Date.	Bill.	Introduced by	Result.
1871	Landed Property, Ireland, Act, 1847, Amendment Bill	Serjeant Sherlock	Withdrawn.
1872	Ulster Tenant Right Bill . .	Mr. Butt . . .	Dropped.
1873	Ulster Tenant Right Bill . .	Mr. Butt . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill . .	Mr. Butt . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2	Mr. Heron . . .	Dropped.

Date.	Bill.	Introduced by	Result.
1874	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill . .	Mr. Butt . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2	Sir J. Gray . . .	Dropped.
"	Ulster Tenant Right Bill . .	Mr. Butt . . .	Dropped.
"	Irish Land Act Extension Bill	The O'Donoghue .	Dropped.
1875	Landed Proprietors, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Smyth . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Crawford . .	Rejected.
1876	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Crawford . .	Withdrawn.
"	Tenant Right on Expiration of Leases Bill	Mr. Mulholland .	Dropped.
"	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill .	Mr. Butt . . .	Rejected.
1877	Land Tenure, Ireland, Bill .	Mr. Butt . . .	Rejected.
"	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Crawford . .	Withdrawn.
1878	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Herbert . . .	Dropped.
"	Tenant Right Bill	Lord A. Hill . .	Rejected by Lords.
"	Tenant Right, Ulster, Bill .	Mr. Macartney .	Withdrawn.
"	Tenants' Improvements, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Martin . . .	Rejected.
"	Tenants' Protection, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Moore . . .	Dropped.
1879	Ulster Tenant Right Bill . .	Mr. Macartney .	Rejected.
"	Ulster Tenant Right Bill, No. 2	Lord A. Hill . .	Withdrawn.
"	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Herbert . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Taylor . . .	Dropped.
"	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill, No. 2	Mr. Downing . .	Rejected.
1880	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. Taylor . . .	Dropped.
	Ulster Tenant Right Bill . .	Mr. Macartney .	Dropped.
	Fixity of Tenure, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Litton . . .	Rejected.
	Landlord and Tenant, Ireland, Act, 1870, Amendment Bill	Mr. O'C. Power .	Dropped.
"	Compensation for Disturbance, Ireland, Bill (to prevent eviction under circumstances of excessive hardship)	Mr. W. E. Forster	Rejected by Lords.
1886	Tenants' Relief, Ireland, Bill	Mr. C. S. Parnell	Rejected.
1887	Arrears Bill	Mr. Parnell . . .	Rejected.
1889	Agricultural Tenants, Ireland, Bill	Mr. Crilly . . .	Rejected.

The reader shall not be troubled with more than one or two further quotations on the subject of this chapter. The first is from the pen of Mr. James Bryce, M.P., writing in the *Home Rule Handbook* (1887), and is only inserted here to show that the Irish people have still serious reasons to doubt the willingness of Parliament to render justice to Ireland :—

“The chief business of the session of 1880,” Mr. Bryce observes, “was the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which Mr. Forster brought in for the sake of saving from immediate eviction tenants whom a succession of bad seasons had rendered utterly unable to pay their rents. This Bill was pressed through the House of Commons with the utmost difficulty, and at an expenditure of time which damaged the other work of the session, though the House continued to sit into September. The Executive Government declared it to be necessary, in order not only to relieve the misery of the people, but to secure the tranquillity of the country. Nevertheless, the whole Tory party, and a considerable section of the Liberal party, opposed it in the interests of the Irish landlords, and of economic principles in general ; principles which (as commonly understand in England) it certainly trenched on. When it reached the House of Lords it was contemptuously rejected, and the unhappy Irish Secretary left to face as he best might the cries of a wretched peasantry and the rising tide of outrage. What was even more remarkable was the coolness with which the Liberal party took the defeat of a bill their leaders had pronounced absolutely needed. Had it been an English bill of the same consequence to England as it was to Ireland, the country would have been up in arms against the House of Lords, demanding the reform or the abolition of a Chamber which dared to disregard the will of the people. But nothing of the kind happened. It was only an Irish measure. We relieved ourselves by a few strong words, and the matter dropped.”

In the session of 1887, Mr. Parnell presented his Arrears Bill to Parliament with a similar result, the dissentient Liberals making common cause with the Tories to secure its rejection. But it is a remarkable fact that what they refused to the Irish tenants they have granted to the Scotch crofters, more or less liberally. In some instances, not only have reductions of from

20 to 70 per cent. been made to the crofters, but their arrears have been wiped out altogether when necessary. Nor does the contrast stand alone. We have lately concluded the County Councils' elections in England. It will be interesting to hear how Parliament has dealt with this important question as regards Ireland. Mr. John Morley, addressing the Oxford University Union, on the 29th February 1888, said :—

“I will ask you for a single instant to listen to the history of the promise of the extension of local government in Ireland. In 1842, forty-six long years ago, a Commission reported in favour of amending the system of county government in Ireland. A bill was brought in to carry out that recommendation in 1849. It was rejected, and was brought in again in 1853. It was rejected, and in 1856 it was rejected ; and again, another in 1857, was also rejected. Then there was a pause in the process of rejection until 1868, when the Parliament and the Government of the day resorted to the soothing and comforting plan of appointing a Select Committee, which, just like the previous Commission, issued a copious and admirable report, but nothing more was done. In 1875, a bill was brought in for county reform in Ireland, and in 1879 another bill was brought in, which did not touch the evils that called for remedy. In 1881, in the time of the Gladstone administration, and at a time when Ireland, remember, was in a thousand times a worse condition than the most sinister narrator can say she is in now, the Queen in her speech was made to say that a bill for the extension of local government of Ireland would be introduced, but nothing was done. In 1886 that distinguished man whom you had here last week himself said—I heard him say it one afternoon—made this promise in the name of the Government of which he was an important member: ‘It was the firm intention of the Government to bring in a measure with the view of placing all control of local government in Ireland in the hands of the Irish people.’ Some of you cry, ‘Hear, hear,’ but that is all gone. Listen to what Lord Hartington, the master of the Government, has since said. The noble lord has said that no scheme for the extension of local government in Ireland can be entertained until there has been a definite repudiation of nationality by the Irish people (cheers). You will agree with me that it postpones the extension of local

“government in Ireland to a tolerably remote day (cheers).
“This is only one illustration among many others, which taken
“together, amount to a demonstration of the unfitness and in-
“competence of our Imperial Parliament for dealing with the
“political needs, the admitted and avowed political needs, of
“Ireland. One speaker said something about fisheries—there
“was a Select Committee appointed in 1884, and there was
“another Royal Commission reporting a few weeks ago on Irish
“industries generally, fisheries included ; but I am not sanguine
“enough to think that more will be done in consequence of the
“recommendations of that Commission than has been done in
“consequence of the recommendations of others. Again, there
“are the Irish railways. On the question of railways, there
“was a Royal Commission in 1867, and a small committee was
“to report in 1868. There were copious and admirable re-
“ports. There is another copious and admirable report laid on
“the table of the House of Commons this week. Nothing has
“been done, and I do not believe anything will be done.”

Strange language to come from an ex-Cabinet Minister, who will probably be Prime Minister of England in due course. Yet is it very much in the despairing tone of many other Englishmen, more or less eminent, as, for instance, Sydney Smith, Goldwin Smith, Lord Derby, &c. “What did Ireland ever ask that
“was granted? what did she ever demand that was not re-
“fused?” inquires Sydney Smith.—“Occasionally a serious effort
“has been made by an English statesman to induce Parliament
“to approach Irish questions in a spirit of sympathy, and with
“a desire to be just, but such efforts have hitherto met with no
“response,” observes Mr. Goldwin Smith.—“It is regrettable
“that for the third time in less than a century, agitation,
“accompanied with violence, should have been shown to be
“the most effective instrument for redressing whatever Irishmen
“may be pleased to consider their wrongs,” exclaims Lord Derby. The two chapters following should convince any reasonable man that the Irish are not to be blamed if they have lost all confidence in the sincerity of Parliament to legislate in a practical manner with a view to redress their grievances.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A FURTHER PROOF ON THE SUBJECT—THE IRISH FISHERIES.

“The Irish fisheries, if improved, would prove a mine under water, “as rich as any under ground.”—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

THE story of the Irish Fisheries “’twere long to tell, and sad to “trace.” There cannot be a more disheartening subject than to follow the contrast between what Ireland is and what Nature intended her to be. Her coasts, rivers, and harbours are amongst the finest in the world; but they are destitute of commerce. Her shores teem with fish to an almost incredible extent; but the Irish are subject to the perpetual decree, *sic vos non nobis*. Sir James Ware (*temp.* James I.) reckoned amongst the advantages of Ireland, “her great and plentiful fisheries of salmon, “herring, and pilchards,” while Sir William Temple, who is quoted at the head of this chapter, writing in the last century, has observed:—

“Had it not been for circumstances prejudicial to the increase “of trade and riches in the country, which seems natural, or “at least to have ever been incident to the Government of “Ireland, the native fertility of the Irish soil and seas in so “many rich commodities, improved by a multitude of people and “industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a “situation so commodious for all foreign trade, must needs have “rendered this kingdom one of the richest in Europe, and made “a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the crown “of England.”

“Next to the cultivation of land,” observes Arthur Young, in Part II. of his *Tour* (1777), “there is no object in the “[Irish] national economy of so much importance. No manu-

“factures, no trade, can be of half the consequence to Ireland
“that many of her fisheries might prove if encouraged with
“judgment.”

In proportion to the area of the country, the Irish coast line is of exceptionally large extent, being estimated to exceed 2,500 miles. From an early period Ireland has been noted for the great quantity of fish resorting to its shores. In the time of Edward IV. the Irish fisheries were considered of so much importance as to be made the subject of special legislation; an Act of the 5th of his reign providing that no foreign vessel should fish on the banks near the Irish coast, unless on payment of an annual duty of 13s. 4d.—no such small sum in those days. In 1556, Philip II., coming to know of this element of national wealth through his connection with the Netherlands, he agreed to pay £1,000 a year for permission to fish on the northern coast for twenty-one years. Then the Dutch gave Charles I. £30,000 for the privilege of fishing off the west coast; and in 1650, that is, in the time of the Republic, Sweden, in recompense for services to England, was permitted to send 100 vessels to the Irish fisheries. It is not necessary to refer to the discouragement by England of the Irish fishing industry previous to the Union. A single example of the kind will suffice to show that the Irish fisheries were, in due course, subjected to the same abominable treatment as Irish industries generally. As far back as 1698 we find that petitions were sent to the English Parliament from Folkestone and Aldborough, which are mentioned in the *Journals* of the House of Commons, complaining of the injury they sustained “by the Irish catching “herrings at Waterford and Wexford, and sending them to the “Streights, and thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners’ “markets.” And there was one from Yarmouth to the effect that English, Scotch, and Dutch vessels were constantly taking cargoes of fish from the Irish, and that if such were allowed there was no use in trying to catch herrings in the English Channel. The prayer of this petition was heard, and ordinances were issued forbidding “any Irish to appear out of harbour, or “fish whilst English fishermen were so engaged,” according to

Davis's *Irish Deep Sea Fisheries*. This was not a little discouraging. In 1786 the sea fishery became so extensive it was found necessary to pass a special act to regulate it. There was an export bounty of 2s. 4d. a barrel on herrings, but such was the jobbery then prevalent, only 11½d. of the amount reached the merchant. Professor Sullivan, the President of the Queen's College, Cork, in his admirable Report on the Cork Exhibition of 1883, mentions that during the existence of this bounty there was a period in which it was not paid at all; while an opposition import bounty on cured fish was regularly paid. If Ireland could flourish under such a system of paternal government as this, it must be, as suggested by Swift, "against every law of nature and reason, like the thorn of Glastonbury, that blossoms in "the midst of the winter." But what has been the course of English legislation on the subject since the Union in 1800. It is told in a Parliamentary report of 1870, which has been obligingly annotated for the present writer's information by Sir Thomas Brady, the well-known Irish Inspector of Fisheries.

In the first years of the present century a company, aided by the Marine Society of London, was formed with a capital of £50,000, to fish the Nymph Bank, a well-known fishing ground off the Waterford coast. No Government aid was asked, and the undertaking would have done much to develop the fishing industry of the district. English jealousy prevailed, however. On the introduction of a bill to enable the Company to proceed with its operations, petitions against the project poured in from Harwich, Gravesend, Feversham, and other fishing communities, and the bill was thrown out on the second reading in 1804. In 1819 it was decided to extend to Ireland the same system of bounties and other encouragement to the fisheries which had been for some time previously in operation in England and Scotland. An act was accordingly passed appointing a Fishery Board for Ireland. Notwithstanding a gross abuse of administration, which permitted to be expended on salaries £68,142, against a total expenditure on the fisheries of only £163,376, the period (1819-30) during which the Irish fisheries were thus encouraged was one of unexampled prosperity. The number of

vessels in receipt of bounty rose from 27 in 1819 to 12,611 in 1829, and the men employed from 188 to 63,421 in the same period. In 1830 bounties were discontinued, for England and Scotland as well as Ireland, and the Irish Fishery Board was abolished. From 1809 to 1829 Scotland had received for her fisheries £1,189,744; Ireland, during same period, £330,000. And although bounties were discontinued in Scotland as in Ireland, Scotland retained every other advantage, including an efficient Fishery Board and staff of officers. The highly advantageous branding system continued there also to stimulate the enormous exportation of fish; and £500 a year was granted for repairing boats of poor fishermen. Nor was this all. From Parliamentary returns for 1842, it appears that in the twelve years subsequent to 1829, Scotland received in Government grants for her fisheries £192,977—Ireland, nothing. But whose fault was this, that the Scotch were so highly favoured, while the Irish fisheries were left out in the cold? There is but one answer to such a question. The majority of the Irish Parliamentary representatives were, up to the date of the Parnell movement, the most unpatriotic and self-seeking body that ever betrayed any kingdom. In 1838, a bill was introduced by the then Chief Secretary, Lord Morpeth, to give effect to certain recommendations, especially with regard to loans, of a Commission on Irish Fisheries appointed a few years previously. This time it was our Scotch friends—and they are true friends of both England and Ireland now—who sent up a dismal chant. Leith, Montrose, Eyemouth, Stromness, and other places petitioned against the bill. A hostile deputation, headed by the Duke of Sutherland, waited on the Government, and finally the bill was withdrawn. In 1849 another attempt was made to revive the Irish fisheries. The usual Parliamentary Select Committee was resorted to, only “to baffle and delude” the Irish—as the *Times* said of one of the same type seven years previously—and the matter ended there. In 1852 a comprehensive bill, supported by the entire public opinion of Ireland, was introduced by an Ulster man, Mr. Connolly, member for Donegal, but without success. In 1866,

a Munster man, Mr. J. A. Blake, introduced a still better bill on the subject. It was referred to the customary Select Committee, which reported favourably on its provisions; and there the matter ended, in strict accordance with the prescribed routine. Nor was any practical benefit conferred on the Irish sea fisheries until 1874, when, after years of agitation on the subject, a fund, amounting to about £70,000, which had lain in the hands of the Treasury since 1822, the year of one of the great famines, and which was the balance of charitable contributions collected for the relief of distress in that year, and called the Irish Reproductive Fund, was transferred to the Irish Inspectors, for advancement in loans to fishermen. The effort to get anything out of the Treasury for the benefit of Ireland—even her own money—involves a prolonged struggle which has often deterred men from making the attempt. It is sincerely to be hoped that “My Lords” condescended to pay compound interest for thirty years on the £70,000, when transferring the principal to the Irish Fishery Inspectors for a loan fund.

From 1830 the Irish fisheries declined seriously (in 1836 boats had decreased by 2,500 and crews by 10,000 men), and were almost extinguished by the famine, from the effects of which they have never recovered. The number of boats now fishing is 5,785, crews 21,825, as compared with boats 12,611, crews 63,421, in 1829. The *Statesman's Year Book* gives the value of the fish landed in 1887, according to official returns, in England, £4,104,445; Scotland, £1,396,963; Ireland (1886), £643,000. Ireland is a poor country, her fisheries are to her of vital importance, and are admittedly undeveloped. The loan fund is quite inadequate to supply first-class boats, that is boats of fifteen tons and upwards, of which England has over 3,000, Scotland 4,000, Ireland but 516. Yet Ireland is admittedly favoured in regard to the natural advantages she possesses for fishing industries. Her white fish is famous for its fine qualities; and the haddock of Dublin Bay are celebrated for their delicacy of flavour. The harvest of the sea requires no busy or laborious spring time to precede it; no sun to colour and ripen it; no cultivation of any kind to bring it to maturity.

Nothing is required but the means to gather it; and statesmen are not ashamed to abdicate this primary duty of government to provide the means to encourage a great national industry (and thus secure a nursery for our navy); allowing it to be discharged, as best it may, by private benevolence. Yet the security which these poor Irish fishermen have to offer should entitle them to more generous dealing. Here is how the Tory *St. James's Gazette* set forth their undoubted claims in an article which appeared in that journal on the 30th of October 1886:—

“In every case in which money has been advanced for the development of an Irish fishery the result has been satisfactory. Lady Burdett-Coutts had at one time £10,000 out on free loan in the town of Baltimore [County Cork], and repayments have been unfailingly punctual, while Baltimore itself has grown from nothing into a great fishing port. Fifty times that amount has been advanced in the aggregate at other places by various persons, and it has all been repaid. The Fishery Commissioners advanced £20,000 in County Clare, and only £30 remained unpaid. The general result has been to enormously increase the fishery trade of the south-western counties—Cork, Kerry, and Clare—as well as to create other trades which depend upon the fisheries. In former times we had recourse to the bounty system. In 1819 a bounty was given for fish taken, for fish cured, and for boats built. That ceased when the Fishery Commission ceased; but whereas in Scotland the fishermen had enjoyed the bounties for about three-score years, and had been well set going, the Irish fishermen enjoyed them only for three years. This is one of the most clearly defined of Irish grievances.”

It is only necessary to add one more fact, which, however, is very instructive, for the Court as well as the Parliament. When the Baroness Burdett-Coutts goes to Ireland to see how her humble *protégés* are getting on, no princess in Europe, crowned or uncrowned, receives a more enthusiastic and respectful welcome from her people. Nor does any princess in Europe better deserve it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A FINAL PROOF ON THE SUBJECT—THE WASTE LANDS.

"Is it conceivable that an English government and an English parliament, omnipotent within a great Empire, cannot come forward, and "by a strong will, and strong hand, and strong resolve, do whatever is "necessary to be done with regard to the condition of Ireland?"—JOHN BRIGHT (1880).

THROUGHOUT the history of Imperial legislation for Ireland, there is, perhaps, no other instance of a public work of such obvious importance, and recommended with so much authority, as the reclamation of waste lands, which has been again and again overlooked or cast aside as if by a decree of fate. Legislation on the subject has at various times been advanced a stage, two stages, and even three stages, but always with the same result, to return to its authors like the labours of Sisyphus. "Give us," said William III.'s Dutch settlers, "our own law "of empoldering, and we will reclaim the Bog of Allen." But their request was unheeded, and the bog still lies unreclaimed. In 1732, a bill of Arthur Dobbs, afterwards Governor of Carolina, for the Reclamation of Waste Lands, was carried through both Houses of the Irish Parliament; but the indispensable sanction of the Crown was refused, almost as a matter of course. In 1809 an English Royal Commission made four separate reports on the subject, which received no attention. In 1810 there was a Commission "on bogs and accounts;" and in 1814 a Commission on bogs only. Then there was a perfect rage for Parliamentary Committees on reclamation; as if to show that those who had carried the Union by bribery, corruption, insurrection, and false promises, meant at last to fulfil the latter. In 1810-11-13-14-19-23-30-35 there were Select Committees.

The last four of the series particularly recommended that the Irish "wastes" should be reclaimed, but waste they still remain. In 1815, a Parliamentary Commission, composed of Mr. Nimmo, the celebrated Scotch engineer, Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Griffith, and other men of distinction, reported in favour of a scheme of reclamation, after an inquiry extending over several years, and personally visiting nearly every county in Ireland, but nothing came of it. Sixty years ago a bill on the subject passed three readings in the House of Commons, two readings in the House of Lords, was referred to a Committee of Peers, was reported on favourably, and yet did not become law. Just by way of lending the semblance of variety if not reality to the *joke*, there was a Committee on the Poor, presided over by Mr. Spring Rice (afterwards Lord Monteagle), in 1830, which reported as follows:—

"When the immense importance of bringing into a productive state five millions of acres, now lying waste, is considered, it cannot but be a subject of regret and surprise that no greater progress in this undertaking has yet been made. . . . If this work could be accomplished, not only would it afford a transitory but a permanent demand for productive labour, accompanied by a corresponding rise of wages and improvement in the condition of the poor. The severe pressure of clearing farms and ejecting sub-tenants might be thus mitigated, and the general condition of the peasantry improved."

This committee must have been overcome by the evidence before them as to the appalling condition of the Irish poor in those days, as in these, or they could never have forgotten that if the landlords' sport of ejectment and eviction ceased, there would be no employment, no occupation for the military forces of the Crown, and the other resources of civilisation, in Ireland. Parliament accordingly treated the recommendation of their own committee with the contempt they thought it deserved; and the sport of eviction has proceeded gaily from that day to this in the "sister" country. In 1831 there were actually Treasury "Minutes" on the subject; and "My Lords" recommended the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to set to

work—in a country where there are no forests—on the Crown bog-lands. In this way some 400 acres were reclaimed at a place named Pobble O'Keefe (King William's Town), in Kerry, "with great profit and advantage" it was reported. A Mr. Weale was despatched to the scene of operations to make an official inquiry on the subject in behalf of the Government. He set forth the result of his investigations as follows :—

"I could scarcely credit the evidence of my senses, that such "extensive tracts of land, presenting a variety of fertile soils, "and combining many other natural advantages, which were "obviously capable of contributing largely to the wealth and "prosperity of the nation, had not participated in the general "improvement of the country, and remained neglected by the "hand of civilisation from the period at which its ancient "proprietors, the last Earls of Desmond, had been dispossessed "of it."

Edmund Spenser has explained how these "last Earls" were driven to rebel by Elizabeth's commanders with a distinct view to their dispossession. This, by the way. Weale also reported officially, that "this large district of country contained but two "small villages, and only two resident proprietors, the distance "between whose houses is thirty-eight British miles." The rest were absentees, he said ; and we may reasonably conclude that those gentry now exerted themselves vigorously, as did their class in the reign of Edward I., and in every reign since, including the present, to dissuade "My Lords" and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests from proceeding in their mad career towards the extinction of turbulence and discontent in the district of Pobble O'Keefe or elsewhere. Anyhow, "My "Lords" were pleased there and then to draw rein, perhaps not reluctantly, and the grand scheme of reclamation of Irish waste lands vanished like a pleasant dream. But the Commissions and Select Committees lived on notwithstanding, and continued to issue reports and recommendations as before ; still indulging the Irish in the pleasures of hope, while memory might have warned that most sanguine and too credulous people that the pretence of reclaiming this desert of theirs was as delusive as

the mirage which ensnares the fainting traveller to his destruction in the far-off regions of another continent. A Select Committee in 1835 reported to Parliament as follows :—

“ These reports [Weale’s and such like] point out the advantages derivable to the state, the community, the labouring classes, and to England, from reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland, and are founded on the most convincing evidence of the facility with which such wastes may be reclaimed. But it appears from the evidence obtained by your committee, that no efforts have been made to realise the advantages pointed out, except in a few instances. In these, however, the success has been most complete, and, therefore, present undeniable proofs of the practicability and importance of the operations proposed in the reports.”

Hope told a flattering tale in this instance, as in so many others, for it even imposed upon a man of robust intellect like Archbishop Whately. He now took up the question; got another Commission appointed to deal with it, in 1836; obtained from that body a favourable report; and still the fates prevailed. Mr. George Poulett Scrope, M.P. for Stroud, a distinguished geologist and writer on social reforms, devoted a considerable portion of his parliamentary life to advocating the desirability of reclamation, with a pertinacity worthy of success, but all in vain. In 1842, Sir Robert Peel took the matter in hand in a practical manner, by initiating a scheme of arterial drainage, which, however, collapsed under the pressure of the great famine a few years later. In 1845, the celebrated Devon Commission reported “that there was scarcely any subject upon which evidence was so concurrent as the desirableness of Waste Lands Reclamation;” but, like a good many more of the desirable reforms suggested in the same quarter, this also fell upon deaf ears. In 1847, Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, brought forward an elaborate proposal on the subject, which met with the usual fate in due course, this time falling “prostrate before a bland admonition” of Sir Robert Peel himself, according to Mr. Disraeli. Finally, after more than a quarter of a century had elapsed, Mr. J. G. M’Carthy, ex-M.P.

for Mallow, and now an Irish Land Commissioner, courageously attempted to resuscitate an interest in the question in Parliament by the introduction of a "Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill" in 1875. How that honourable gentleman struggled against the fates, and was rewarded for his temerity, when he thought success was almost within his grasp, by being worsted in the struggle, had best be told in his own words, perhaps, as set forth in the course of a letter in the *Times* of October 28, 1879:—

"The great national work of arterial drainage is at a standstill. To remedy this state of things," observes Mr. M'Carthy, "I brought in the 'Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill' of 1875. It was substantially an embodiment of Lord John Russell's proposal of 1847, to which I have referred. The then Chief Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, admitted that 'the attention of the House could hardly be occupied with any question of greater importance,' and suggested that, 'if anything could be done by way of Government interference to secure that works of arterial drainage should be more generally carried out, that, indeed, would be a matter which the State could reasonably undertake.' I re-modelled my measure in deference to the Governmental suggestion. The Waste Land Bill of 1878 was mainly a proposal to promote arterial drainage on the principle of Sir Robert Peel's legislation of 1842; but, of course, it retained Lord John Russell's peasant proprietary proposals. It was prepared with great technical skill by Mr. George Orme Malley, Q.C., whose work is the authority on the drainage question. It was supported by Irish members of all sections, and by English members so distinguished and so various in their standpoints as Mr. Bright and Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Cowen and Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Read, Sir Charles Forster and Lord Kensington, Sir Francis Goldsmid and Lord de Grey. But, as so often happens with Irish Bills, just as the division was about to be taken, a crowd of honourable members, who perhaps never set foot in Ireland or even heard a word of the debate, rushed from club and smoking-room, and caused the rejection of the bill by a small majority. If it had been passed reproductive works would now be in beneficent operation all over Ireland, and no danger of famine would exist."

So far Mr. J. G. M'Carthy. In England more than seven

millions of acres of waste lands have been reclaimed since 1820. In France more than four millions have been reclaimed since 1830. In Prussia more than a million of acres have been reclaimed since 1872. In Ireland, where the waste lands extend over one-fifth of the entire surface of the country, nothing worth recalling has been done towards their reclamation. The fates are clearly against it. Mr. Bright—not hoping but despairing—dwelt upon the subject with his customary eloquence in the course of a speech in the House of Commons in 1880, and he was rewarded with “loud cheers” for his pains:—

“In the year 1847, in January of that year,” Mr. Bright said, “I recollect hearing Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, explaining the objects and intentions of the Government with regard to some provision for the famine that was then overtaking the Irish people, and one of the proposals was this—to take into the hands of the Government, through some managing power and authority, waste lands in Ireland which were capable of being profitably cultivated, and by some arrangements finding homes, and farms, and employment for a considerable number of people. Now, Ireland contains about twenty millions of acres. I do not know the number of acres that may be called waste lands. I have heard it put at two millions and more, but I will assume, for the sake of my illustration, that there are one million of acres in Ireland that are capable of cultivation, and would repay the cultivator; and that it would be as wise to cultivate as the average portion of the Irish land that is now cultivated. Well, what would a million acres do? It would make not less than 40,000 farms of 25 acres each. It would be possible, probably, to bring over from those extreme western parts, where the climate is precarious, and the land so stoney and so poor—it might be possible to invite little farmers, peasant occupiers from those districts, and to place them upon waste lands thus divided and thus cultivated. What is a million; what is five millions; what is ten millions to this country to pursue to a successful issue a great question like this? . . . Is it conceivable that an English Government and an English Parliament, omnipotent within a great Empire, cannot come forward, and by a strong will, and strong hand, and strong resolve, do whatever is necessary to be done with regard to the condition of Ireland?”

Many other glaring examples of the same kind might be enumerated exemplifying the habitual disregard of Irish interests by Parliament. It has been the misfortune of the Legislature, when attempting to do anything at all, to deal out half measures only, and do nothing heartily. The Tithes Act for the relief of Irish Catholics from an odious impost was only conceded after a series of murderous pitched battles had taken place between the peasantry and the police engaged in the levy. Yet it relieved nobody except the parsons—of the odium of collection—for the Catholics continued to pay tithes just the same, in the shape of increased rackrents to the landlords. The Encumbered Estates Act in like manner, from which so much was promised, resulted in nothing but further grievous wrong and disappointment. Mr. Gladstone has emphatically declared that, by the criminal neglect of the Legislature, it led to wholesale confiscation of the laborious agricultural improvements of the Irish tenants. The Irish Church affords another case in point. For forty years it had figured in parliamentary debate as a kind of ecclesiastical "Aunt Sally." English and Scotch representative men of the most diverse creeds and politics relieved their souls from time to time by pelting it with missiles out of the dust-heap. "Why cumbereth it the ground?" was persistently asked, until Mr. Gladstone laid his axe to the root of this "upas-tree," splitting up the trunk to satisfy the religious world that it was a thing without virtue or vitality. Yet the present Lord Derby asked the House of Lords in 1870, "whether the Irish Church "would not now have been probably standing upon its legs "[though morally it had not a leg to stand upon] but for the "Fenian organisation." Of course it would; and men's minds are now filled with well-founded apprehension by the mournful fact that the class to which Lord Derby himself belongs, and with which he appears to be in dull agreement, will come to no terms of rational compromise with the people, either in Scotland or Ireland, in regard to the land, till the working classes of the three kingdoms take to breaking windows, as in 1831-32.

CHAPTER XXV.

"THE EVER-FAILING AND EVER-POISONOUS MEDICINE."

"Coercion ! damnable coercion ! What has been the ruin of Ireland
"but this accursed coercion ?"—SIR CHARLES NAPIER OF SCINDE.

IF remedial legislation was seldom forthcoming for Ireland there was always plenty of coercion in store for her. This policy of coercion has been one of the great distinguishing features in the history of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. It has been carried out almost without intermission since 1800. The Acts of Parliament embodying it have been called by various titles, many of them seemingly harmless. They are hardly ever called Coercion Acts—they are Arms Acts, Suppression of Disturbance Acts, Change of Venue Acts, Public Peace Acts, Outrage Acts, Crime and Outrage Acts, Peace Preservation Acts, Protection of Life and Property Acts, Crimes Acts, Criminal Law and Procedure Acts, &c. But whatever the title, every one of the Acts referred to, of which there have been eighty-seven, suspended, in one respect or another, and for varying periods, the ordinary law and the operation of one or more of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, under the pretext of putting down crime, but in reality to maintain a shameful system of misgovernment. Of the Act of 1887, Mr. Gladstone has thus severely written, in a published letter dated the 31st of May 1887 :—

"It is pretended that we are legislating against crime. Be
"it known to you that there is less crime in Ireland per million
"than there is in England or in Scotland, and the bill which
"pretends to legislate against crimes really legislates against
"measures similar to those which are adopted by trades-unions

“in England—the bill legislates against combinations and not against crime, or rather against combinations, while professing to legislate against crime. The bill is itself a crime.”

Brougham spoke as follows in the House of Commons in opposition to one of those enactments, on the 26th June 1823, as reported in the fourth volume of his *Speeches* :—

“It cannot be denied that the sole object of England has been to render Ireland a safe neighbour. We have been stewards over her for this long period of time. I repeat we shall one day have to give an account of our stewardship—a black account it will be, but it must be forthcoming. What have we done for the country which we are bound to aid, protect, and cherish? In our hands her population seems a curse to her rather than a blessing. . . . In England justice is delayed, but thank Heaven it can never be sold. In Ireland it is sold to the rich, refused to the poor, and delayed to all. We stand, as regards Ireland, on the brink of a precipice. We are driving six millions of people to despair, to madness! . . . The greatest mockery of all—the most intolerable insult—the course of peculiar exasperation—against which I chiefly caution the House, is the undertaking to cure the distress under which she labours by anything in the shape of new penal enactments. It is in these enactments alone that we have ever shown our liberality to Ireland. She has received penal laws from the hands of England almost as plentifully as she has received blessings from the hands of Providence. What have these laws done? Checked her turbulence, but not stifled it. The grievance remaining perpetual, the complaint can only be postponed. We may load her with chains, but in doing so we shall not better her condition. By coercion we may goad her on to fury, but by coercion we shall never break her spirit. She will rise up and break the fetters we impose, and arm herself for deadly violence with the fragments.”

The political speeches of Bulwer are so seldom quoted now-a-days, the following passage from one delivered on Coercion in the House of Commons, on the 27th of February 1833, by him, will be read with interest at the present time. He spoke as follows on a motion of Lord Althorp to introduce one more bill to secure further repressive legislation for Ireland :—

"We take the time for exercising new coercions at the very moment when, by our new experiment of conciliation, we have virtually declared that seven centuries of coercion have been unavailing," observes this eminent Conservative statesman. . . . "I am sure that no people on the face of the earth can be governed by the system his Majesty's ministers propose. To-day concession; to-morrow coercion. . . . This system, at once feeble and exasperating, of allowing the justice of complaint, and yet of stifling its voice; of holding out hopes and fears, terror and conciliation, all in a breath; is a system . . . that would make the most credulous people distrustful, and the mildest people ferocious. . . . Do what you will; if you pass these laws, I warn you that it will be in vain. You can never counterbalance, in the opinion of the Irish people, this attack upon the vitals of their freedom. No individual reforms, however salutary, can pacify or content a nation that you rob of its constitution. . . . You flatter yourselves that under shelter of those laws you will be able, with effect, to apply your remedial measures; it is just the reverse; they will blight all your remedies, and throw their own withering shadow over all your concessions. I do not fear an open rebellion against the armed force and discipline of England; but if you madden the people, it is impossible to calculate the strength of insanity. But I allow that an open rebellion is the least evil to be feared; I fear more a sullen, bitter, unforgiving recollection, which will distrust all our kindness, and misinterpret all our intentions; which will take all grace from our gifts; which will ripen a partial into a general desire for a separate legislature, by a settled conviction of the injustice of this, so that at last the English people themselves, worn out with unavailing experiments, wearied with an expensive and thankless charge, and dissatisfied with a companionship which gives them nothing but the contagion of its own diseases, will be the first to ask for that very dismemberment of the Empire which we are now attempting to prevent."

The years have nearly trebled since Brougham and Bulwer thus spoke, and the Coercion Acts have more than trebled with them. Mr. Bright frequently denounced, also in vain, the administration of the same "ever-failing and ever-poisonous medicine," as he termed it, speaking in the House of Commons on the 17th of February 1866; that is, forty-three years after

Brougham. But Parliament has only one remedy for the various diseases which afflict unhappy Ireland. It may be likened to that of the successful candidate for the degree of doctor of medicine in Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire*, who had but one course of treatment for all diseases :—" *Clysterium donare, postea seignare, ensuite purgare ;*" and was at no loss if the patient was no better for this specific, but boldly ordered it to be repeated :—" *Reseignare, repurgare, et reclysterisare !*"

Here is a tabulated list of our Parliamentary "doses" since the Union (from which Ireland was told to expect innumerable blessings), all carefully labelled, so that he who runs may read :—

1800 } Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1848 Removal of Arms Act.
to } Seven Coercion Acts.	1848 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1805 }	1848 Another Oaths Act.
1807 1st February, Coercion Act.	1849 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1807 Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1850 Crime and Outrage Act.
1807 2nd August, Insurrection Act.	1851 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1808-9 Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1853 Crime and Outrage Act.
1814 } Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1854 Crime and Outrage Act.
to } Insurrection Act.	1855 Crime and Outrage Act.
1816 }	1856 Peace Preservation Act.
1817 Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1858 Peace Preservation Act.
1817 One Coercion Act.	1860 Peace Preservation Act.
1822 } Habeas Corpus Suspension.	1862 Peace Preservation Act.
to } Two Coercion Acts in 1822 and	1862 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1830 } one in 1823.	1865 Peace Preservation Act.
1830 Importation of Arms Act.	1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus
1831 Whiteboy Act.	Act (August).
1831 Stanley's Arms Act.	1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1832 Arms and Gunpowder Act.	1867 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1833 Suppression of Disturbance.	1868 Suspension of Habeas Corpus.
1833 Change of Venue Act.	1870 Peace Preservation Act.
1834 Disturbances Amendment and	1871 Protection of Life and Property.
Continuance.	1871 Peace Preservation Con.
1834 Arms and Gunpowder Act.	1873 Peace Preservation Act.
1835 Public Peace Act.	1875 Peace Preservation Act.
1836 Another Arms Act.	1875 Unlawful Oaths Act.
1838 Another Arms Act.	1881 } Peace Preservation Acts (sus-
1839 Unlawful Oaths Act.	to } pending Habeas Corpus).
1840 Another Arms Act.	1882 }
1841 Outrages Act.	1881 } Arms Act.
1841 Another Arms Act.	to }
1843 Another Arms Act.	1886 }
1843 Act Consolidating all Previous	1882 } Crimes Act.
Coercion Acts.	to }
1844 Unlawful Oaths Act.	1885 }
1845 Additional Constables near	1886 } Arms Act.
Public Works Act.	to }
1845 Unlawful Oaths Act.	1887 }
1846 Constabulary Enlargement.	1887 Criminal Law and Procedure
1847 Crime and Outrage Act.	(Ireland) Act.
1848 Treason Amendment Act.	

Under the title of *Coercion without Crime*, the following pages were published by the present writer as a Tract in 1887. They contain no more than a summary of the charges of Her Majesty's Judges to the various Grand Juries throughout Ireland—now proclaimed under the Coercion Act—at the Summer Assizes of 1887, *held at the very time the Coercion Bill was passing through Parliament*. Mr. Gladstone was pleased to address the author the following letter on receipt of a copy, which doubtless secured it the exceptional attention it immediately received in the press, many of the newspapers reprinting its contents in their columns *in extenso*.—

“HAWARDEN CASTLE,
August 10, 1887.

“DEAR SIR,—The evidence which you have supplied in your tract, *Coercion without Crime*, from the charges of the Judges, “reporting on matters of fact within their judicial cognisance, “appears to illustrate vividly the freedom of Ireland from “crime; and, unless it can be effectually answered, to illustrate “strongly the absurdity as well as the cruelty of the measure “which was directed by the Legislature against combination “under the name of crime, and which is now at bye-elections “coming under review by a portion of the constituencies of the “country. Your faithful servant, W. E. GLADSTONE.”

It is only necessary to add, that it was lately sworn in evidence before the Parnell Commission by the manager of the *Times*, that the facsimile of one of Mr. Parnell's forged letters was printed in that journal on the morning of the second reading of the Coercion Bill—which bill Mr. Gladstone describes as a crime in itself—with a distinct view to influence the result of the division then about to take place. Under all the circumstances, the Tract has by no means lost its exceptional value as an epitome of judicial facts *versus* ministerial fictions:—

ANTRIM Co. (Population, 421,943).

Mr. Justice Holmes to the Grand Jury of Antrim Co.:—

“He saw that there were in all twenty bills to go before “them. He had looked into the character of the offences

“they represented, and found they were such as might be expected to arise naturally under any circumstances in a thickly populated community and a large town. There seemed, as far as he could see, to be nothing exceptional in any of the cases, and he was informed by his brother judge—and he had looked through them with the greatest care and detail—that, in his opinion, there did not arise anything upon which it was necessary to offer the grand jury any special instruction. He had been informed by Mr. Justice Andrews that he had carefully considered the returns presented to him, and that they indicated the state of the country since last assizes, and that he was of opinion the information they contained was of an eminently satisfactory character.”

ARMAGH Co. (Population, 163,177).

Mr. Justice Andrews to the Grand Jury of Armagh Co. :—

“There are seven cases to be submitted to you for your consideration, and I do not find anything in them requiring observations from me. It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on the orderly and well-behaved condition of your important county.”

CARLOW Co. (Population, 46,568).

Mr. Baron Dowse, to the Grand Jury of Carlow Co. :—

“He was glad to be able to inform them—and he believed it was a very usual announcement—that their labours at the present assizes would not be very much. There were only two bills to go before them. They had a right to be satisfied with the present condition of things.”

CAVAN Co. (Population, 129,476).

Mr. Justice Lawson to the Grand Jury of Cavan Co. :—

“He was glad to observe that their duties were of a very light description. There were only three unimportant offences to be sent before them, and those were of a class they would find no difficulty in disposing of, and required no observations from him.”

CLARE Co. (Population, 141,457).

Mr. Justice O'Brien to the Grand Jury of Clare Co. :—

“The criminal business you will have to deal with at the present assizes in performance of your duty as grand jurors

“consists of but very few cases. The cases that will be laid before you constitute but a very trifling amount. I have said that open crime is not the great evil of the county. You may leave crime entirely out of the question. There is, to a certain extent, an absence of open and serious crime.”

CORK Co. (Population, 495,607).

Mr. Justice Johnson to the Grand Jury of Cork Co. :—

“The number of cases to go before you is not large, having regard to this great county, nor in their character are they very important.”

CORK CITY (Population, 80,124).

Mr. Justice O'Brien to the Grand Jury of Cork City :—

“There are very few bills to be laid before you, one of them only of the least importance. I see reason to make, from the materials laid before me by the authorities, the general observation, that this city practically is absolutely and entirely free from crime.”

DONEGAL Co. (Population, 206,035).

Mr. Justice Lawson to the Grand Jury of Donegal Co. :—

“Congratulated them on the peaceful condition of the county as indicated by the circumstance that there were but four new bills to go before them, on none of which it was necessary to make any observation.”

DOWN Co. (Population, 272,107).

Mr. Justice Holmes to the Grand Jury of Down Co. :—

“The bills that are to go before you are, having regard to the population and extent of the county, few, and the cases are of such a character, with, perhaps, one exception, as might be expected to arise in a thickly-populated community, presenting no feature in either their character or their incidents that your own experience will not enable you to deal with.”

DROGHEDA (Population, 12,297).

Mr. Justice Holmes to the Grand Jury of Drogheda, *who presented him with a pair of white gloves* :—

“It is, indeed, a matter of great satisfaction to me on this the first occasion that I have been called on to preside in a

“court of assize to find the calendar a blank, and to be able to congratulate you heartily upon the freedom from crime which exists in the county of the town of Drogheda.”

FERMANAGH Co. (Population, 84,879).

Mr. Justice Murphy to the Grand Jury of Fermanagh Co. :—

“Nothing can exceed the peace and quiet obtaining in this, as I trust I may call it, your prosperous county. The bills to go before you are only two in number.”

GALWAY Co. (Population, 242,005).

Lord Chief Baron to the Grand Jury of Galway Co. :—

“Regretted to say the number of cases to go before them was considerable—far more than was usual in this county. There were twenty-three cases to be tried, including four cases carried forward from the last assizes.”

§ KERRY Co. (Population, 201,039).

Mr. Justice O’Brien to the Grand Jury of Kerry Co. :—

“I need not say to you that the prominence the county of Kerry has occupied of late years in reference to crime makes its condition an object of great anxiety and inquiry, and from means of information afforded to me, including amongst other materials the usual returns presented by the constabulary to the judge of assize, it appears that the actual amount of crime is much less than for the corresponding period last year. That diminution is capable of being traced through almost all the classes of crime which are in their own nature necessarily connected with the state of the county; in particular the offence which is commonly known as moonlighting, and which is the cause of so much terror and alarm to the well-disposed in this county, for a considerable period of time seems to have almost entirely disappeared.”

KILDARE Co. (Population, 75,804).

Mr. Justice Harrison to the Grand Jury of Kildare Co. :—

“I am happy to tell you that I believe your duties so far as they are of a criminal nature will at this assize be light indeed. There are only five cases to go before you, and there are none of them of a very grave or serious nature. There is nothing,

“as far as I have been able to ascertain, reflecting in any way
“on the peace of your county.”

KILKENNY Co. (Population, 99,531).

Mr. Baron Dowse to the Grand Jury of Kilkenny Co. :—

“I am glad to say that you have not very many cases to go
“before you at the present assizes. The number of bills is six,
“which represent only five cases. I have to congratulate you
“upon the tranquillity of your county.”

KILKENNY CITY (Population, 12,299).

Mr. Justice Harrison to the Grand Jury of Kilkenny City, *who presented him with a pair of white gloves* :—

“I have very great pleasure in receiving this emblem of the
“innocence of your city, as I may call it. I think it is not
“merely an emblem of the present state, but it clearly repre-
“sents the general condition of this fair city of Kilkenny.
“There is not merely no criminal case to go before you, but I
“find from the return of the police inspector that there were
“only one or two cases specially reported since the last assizes.”

KING'S Co. (Population, 72,852).

Lord Chief Justice to the Grand Jury of King's Co. :—

“There are only three cases to go before you, none of which
“call for any comment.”

LEITRIM Co. (Population, 90,372).

Lord Chief Baron to the Grand Jury of Leitrim Co. :—

“There are not many cases to go before you, and none of
“them require any observations from me.”

LIMERICK Co. (Population, 180,632).

Mr. Justice Johnson to the Grand Jury of Limerick Co. :—

“The list which has been furnished to me of the criminal
“business which is to come before you discloses that there are
“but twelve cases—with the exception of one, which appears to
“be of a moonlighting character, the rest are all cases of ordinary
“crime.”

LIMERICK CITY (Population, 38,562).

Mr. Justice O'Brien to the Grand Jury of Limerick City :—

“I believe practically there is no criminal business at all to be done. The list laid before me merely shows three cases for trial, in one of which a bill has been found already. Another case on the list is described as manslaughter, but it appears really to be a very trivial case.”

LONDONDERRY Co. (Population, 164,991).

Mr. Justice Murphy to the Grand Jury of Londonderry Co. :—

“There were only twelve bills to go before them—eleven for offences within the county, and one for an offence committed on the high seas on board a vessel coming to the port. None of the offences disclosed were of other than the ordinary kind that might be expected in so large and populous a county.”

LONGFORD Co. (Population, 61,009).

Mr. Justice Murphy to the Grand Jury of Longford Co. :—

“There are only two cases to go before you. I am happy to say that the number is so very few.”

LOUTH Co. (Population, 77,684).

Mr. Justice Andrews to the Grand Jury of Louth Co. :—

“There are only four bills to go before you. . . . As far as I can learn there is nothing to show me that the county is not in a peaceable and orderly state.”

MAYO Co. (Population, 245,212).

Lord Chief Justice to the Grand Jury of Mayo Co. :—

“There were fourteen cases to be submitted for their consideration. So far as he was aware, none of them presented any feature of immediate difficulty.”

MEATH Co. (Population, 87,469).

Mr. Justice Andrews to the Grand Jury of Meath Co. :—

“There are only three cases to go before you. None of the cases in the official return are of such a character as to cause uneasiness, and I congratulate you on the peaceable condition of the county.”

MONAGHAN Co. (Population, 102,748).

Mr. Justice Holmes to the Grand Jury of Monaghan Co. :—

“There are but two cases to go before you. I am justified in “congratulating the county upon the absence of crime.”

ROSCOMMON Co. (Population, 132,490).

Lord Chief Baron to the Grand Jury of Roscommon Co. :—

“There are only eight cases to go before you—five for “assaults, two for larceny, and one for rescue.”

QUEEN'S Co. (Population, 73,124).

Mr. Baron Dowse to the Grand Jury of Queen's Co. :—

“The business to go before them on the present occasion was “light, there being only two cases to be investigated by them. “These were the only cases, and he would take care that the “bills were sent up to them at once, and he hoped they would “take up whichever case was likely to be shortest, *so that the “court might have something to do.”*

SLIGO Co. (Population, 111,578).

Lord Chief Justice to the Grand Jury of Sligo Co. :—

“I have merely to remark that the Crown Solicitor informs “me that there are only two bills to be submitted for your con- “sideration, of the ordinary character, and so far as I am aware “there is no other subject calling for any observations from “me.”

TIPPERARY Co. (Population—North and South—199,612).

Mr. Justice Harrison to the Grand Jury of North Tipperary Co. :—

“There was nothing serious to come before them at the “present assizes. He would say it was certainly a very satis- “factory state of things found to exist in their very important “and fine county. He felt happy in congratulating the Grand “Jury that their county was in a peaceable and satisfactory “condition.”

TIPPERARY (South).

Mr. Justice Harrison to the Grand Jury of Tipperary (South):—

“There were only three cases to go before them—a very small number for so large a district as the South Riding of the County Tipperary—none of them of a grave nature.”

TYRONE Co. (Population, 197,719).

Mr. Justice Lawson to the Grand Jury of Tyrone Co. :—

“With respect to the state of the county I have nothing extraordinary to say. The list of cases at the present assizes is a very moderate list. There are altogether twelve cases for trial. Of these two are standing over from a former assizes, and therefore bills will go before you in ten cases. Gentlemen, these are of the usual kind that you may expect in a great and populous county like this, and don't show any bad feeling or anything of that kind.”

WATERFORD Co. (Population, 112,768).

Mr. Baron Dowse to the Grand Jury of Waterford Co. :—

“There were but four bills to go before them, and they were of an ordinary character. He congratulated them on the satisfactory condition of their county.”

WATERFORD CITY (Population, 29,181).

Mr. Justice Harrison (who, it may be presumed, received white gloves) to the Grand Jury of Waterford City :—

“He had great pleasure in saying there was no criminal business to go before them; and, moreover, there was no special criminal case reported since the last assizes.”

WESTMEATH Co. (Population, 71,798).

Mr. Justice Lawson to the Grand Jury of Westmeath Co. :—

“Your business will be very light, as there are only two cases to go before you, neither of which presents any feature of difficulty.”

WEXFORD Co. (Population, 123,854).

Mr. Justice Harrison to the Grand Jury of Wexford Co. :—

“I am very glad to say that, so far, at all events, as the number of cases to go before you for investigation is concerned of a criminal nature, they are fewer than in my experience I have known in any other county of the large extent of Wexford. There are only two cases to go before you. I can only congratulate you on the general peace of this county, and hope, if I have the honour of coming here again, the condition of your county will be that you will not even have two cases that you are asked now to consider.”

WICKLOW Co. (Population, 70,386).

Mr. Baron Dowse to the Grand Jury of Wicklow Co. :—

“I have already since the commencement of this enlarged Leinster circuit addressed four county Grand Juries. I had very little to say to them, and I have still less to say to you. The number of bills to go before you on the present occasion—and when I say that I look with a sympathetic air to my friends the Crown counsel (laughter)—is only two. One is a case of concealment of birth, and the other is a rather serious case—a case of stabbing; and that is the whole business that you will be called upon to investigate as the criminal grand jury at the present assizes. I am here to discharge the gaol, and there is nobody in it—(laughter)—for I understand that the two offenders are out upon bail.”

It will be observed that Baron Dowse is here, and elsewhere, laughing at the Irish officials on account of the absence of crime in the country just as his brother Holmes had carried the Coercion Bill through Parliament. Now, however, at the Summer Assizes of 1889, this learned judge, who dearly loves a joke, assures the various Grand Juries on his circuit that Irish crime was steadily decreasing owing to Mr. Balfour’s “vigorous administration of the law.” Is it surprising that the Irish should have so little respect for the law when its administrators have so little respect for themselves? This story of comparative crimelessness in Ireland might be extended indefinitely, if one were to go through the charges *seriatim* of

the Assistant Judges at Quarter Sessions in Ireland as well. But this is somewhat beyond the scope and limits of the present publication. As an example, however, of what might be expected to result from such further inquiry, it may be mentioned, for instance, that Mr. Ferguson, Quarter Sessions Judge, presiding at Bandon, in Cork County, which is described officially as "an important district," *had a pair of white gloves presented to him in 1887*, in token of there being no criminal business to go before him. The judge took occasion to observe that a similar condition of things prevailed in another of his districts, Macroom, where the only criminal case submitted to the Grand Jury was ignored by them as being destitute of any importance.

In marked contrast to the brevity of his brother judges in addressing the various Grand Juries was the charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien in Clare County. The actual business of the Assizes was a mere trifle compared with the calendar of crime in any ordinary English county, as the foregoing extract from that charge clearly shows. But, unfortunately, this judge commonly glides over the facts relevant to his duty, and indulges in a discursive essay upon sociology generally; until, at length, he laid himself open to Mr. Gladstone's severe reminder in 1887, that—"He has not been appointed and made a judge, "and placed in a position in the enjoyment of very great "social and pecuniary privilege, in order that he may indulge "his vein for authorship and for discussion." What renders it the more inexcusable in Mr. Justice O'Brien to play into the hands of a Tory Government, to enable them to forge fetters for his countrymen, is the fact that in the very same town of Ennis where he delivered his recent charge to the Grand Jury, he, not so many years ago, canvassed the electors for a seat in Parliament as a Home Ruler and Nationalist. But, of course, he is, in this respect, no worse than many of his *confrères* on the Bench, for it is thus, unhappily, men climb to such eminence in Ireland. Nor is there a pin to choose between him and Mr. Justice Holmes, who obtained his judgeship by piloting the eighty-seventh Coercion Act through Parliament, in the course of which he did not scruple to stoop to vilification

as well as misrepresentation of his unhappy countrymen. This is the same gentleman who not later than a few short years ago charged upon the head of Lord Spencer—then engaged in tremendous difficulties as Her Majesty's representative in Ireland—the blood of Giffen, an Orange dupe, accidentally killed by the police in the course of a vulgar scuffle in Ulster. There is surely something of irony in the circumstance that the very first Assize at which he (Mr. Justice Holmes) delivered a charge a Grand Jury should have presented him with a pair of white gloves! It requires no great stretch of the imagination to assume that if the Orange conspirators—as Sir George Trevelyan has rightly stigmatised them—now ruling in Dublin Castle could have arranged things differently, and found even one Bloody Assize throughout the Southern and Western Provinces of Ireland for this brand-new judicial creation of theirs, Mr. Justice Holmes would have been told off forthwith for the congenial duty of presiding there, in order to lend to the numerous fictions of the Government and their unscrupulous Liberal allies in Parliament the air of just ever so little a foundation in fact. It is thus that, in Ireland, the very seat of Justice itself is contaminated and prostituted by the selection of shameless hirelings, and political partizans to fill it. In England justice may be delayed, but it is never poisoned at its source or in the administration; while in Ireland, as Lord Brougham has expressed it, justice “is sold to the rich,” and “refused to the poor;” too many of the judges in that country being mere mercenary creatures of the Government, which appointed them, from whom they hope for further advancement by rendering satisfaction in their judgments against the people—advancement, if not for themselves, at least for their children or other relatives.

The reader has but to consider whether the Coercion Act of 1887 is not, as described by Mr. Gladstone, “a crime in itself.” The cry of the party now is, that their policy has put down crime, whereas the Irish judges were bound, one and all, to declare from the judgment seat, that there was absolutely no crime worth speaking of in Ireland at the very time the Government and their Liberal allies were forcing their bill through Parliament!

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ABSENTEE.

“The cutpurse of the Empire.”—SADLER.

ABSENTEEISM is, it should perhaps be explained, coeval with the English invasion, but early English monarchs tried to apply a remedy, though probably for military and other State reasons rather than through compassion for its victims. For instance, Richard II. asked his Parliament, in 1377, to make a law “obliging all persons who possessed lands, rents, or other income in Ireland to reside there, or else to pay a tax to the amount of two-thirds of their Irish revenues.” Sir John Davies (*temp.* 1612) explains how Richard’s ordinance was acted upon in the reign of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.; the latter not fearing to put it in execution even against the Duke of Norfolk, by depriving him of two parts of the profits of Dorbury’s Island and other lands in the County of Wexford. And afterwards, upon the same grounds, all the Irish estates of the House of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Berkeley, and others were entirely resumed by the Act of Absentees, made in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII. The 10th of Charles I. imposed a tax on absentees of four shillings in the pound; that is, on Irish persons “dwelling in England and elsewhere out of Ireland . . . unless such persons should reside within the kingdom [Ireland] for six months in every year.” And the Irish historian, Haverty, relates how, at a later period, during the Lord Lieutenancy of Earl Harcourt (1773), a bill of the same nature was presented to the Irish Parliament, “to lay a tax of two shillings in the pound on the income of Irish absentee landlords, who would not reside in

"Ireland at least six months in each year." It is reported to have been a popular measure, rendering the Viceroy who proposed it a favourite with the people. But, as might have been expected, having been proposed for the consideration of the very class against whom it was hoped it would operate, it was, of course, unlike the law of Richard II., thrown out. Later still, under the administration of Sir Robert Peel (1841-46), a new tax was levied upon Irish absentees, in the shape of the Income-tax, if they were unable to prove that they resided for the greater portion of the year at home. But it is evident that this was not meant to be a coercive measure, and the result will be seen in the deplorable disregard, by the landlords, of the duties of property during the great famine of 1846-47, as reported by the Society of Friends. If the Government even now enforced the statutes of Henry VIII. they would have more than £5,000,000 of annual revenue with which to develop the industrial resources of Ireland.

Almost every writer on Irish topics has denounced absenteeism as one of the greatest evils afflicting the sister kingdom. Room can only be found here for a limited selection of opinions on the subject; but these are of a character to entitle them to the utmost possible confidence. "A great part of the estates, both real and personal, in Ireland," writes Sir William Petty in his *Political Anatomy*, "are owned by absentees and such as draw over the profits raised out of Ireland, refunding nothing, so as Ireland, exporting more than it imports, doth yet grow poorer to a paradox." Curwen, in his *State of Ireland*, vol. ii., deplors the ruin it inflicts, while "the waters of oblivion could never wash out the stains which the scenes of woe" he had one day witnessed on an absentee estate had impressed on his mind, he says. Referring to the countless ruined mansions scattered throughout the country, Croker writes, in his *South of Ireland*, as follows :—

"They who reared those piles, and filled these rooms with mirth, who gave plenty and employment to the poor, are now in their tombs, and their living successors, dead to patriotism, dwell in other lands, and leave the homes of their ancestors a

“wilderness. Every one must wish such absentees could be made to reside in their country—to enrich it with their fortunes, ornament it with their taste, improve the morals of the people by their example, refine them by their politeness, and protect them by their authority; then might we hope to see the laws respected, the rich beloved, and Ireland tranquil and happy.”

“But,” observes Sadler, in his *Ireland, its Evils and its Remedies*:—

“This abandonment simply is not all with which absenteeism stands charged. It substitutes for neglected duties positive wrongs of the deadliest character. Absent in body, it is, indeed, ever present in the spirit of cruelty and oppression. Its very existence implies a train of evils, which have been, for centuries past, the most cruel scourges of the country.”

Swift, of course, denounced and satirised the absentees in the *Drapier Letters* and elsewhere. But it is more important to add here that, of the various estimates which have been formed as to the actual amount of cash—to say nothing of the moral evil of their system—they abstract from Ireland, a sum of between six and seven millions sterling appears to be the most reasonable. Of this enormous tax on so poor a country, nothing is known to be ever returned, even in time of deepest distress and famine. Of the Irish absentee landlords it may be truly said, in scriptural phrase—“By their fruits ye shall know them.” Sir Robert Inglis, M.P., referring on one occasion to the assertion that absentee Irish landlords did not discharge the duties of proprietors, said he found it stated in a speech of Bishop Jebb, during the famine of 1822, that a large subscription was raised in a western county by the resident proprietors; but the absentees, who received out of it a rental of £83,000 a year, only subscribed £83. Lord Stanley, M.P. (the late Earl of Derby), who was at one time Chief Secretary for Ireland, also reproached this unique class of Irish landed proprietors, in 1831, with their scandalous neglect of duty towards their tenants. He mentioned two persons in Mayo

having between them £10,400 a year, "out of exorbitant "rents," he said, who subscribed exactly £100 towards a collection made at another period of distress in that county. All that can be said in their favour is, that they were more liberal than their fellows mentioned by Bishop Jebb. Again, in 1846-7, during the great famine, the *Transactions of the Society of Friends* exhibit in the clearest light how those gentry, titled and untitled, regarded the duties of property in Ireland. The members of this influential Society, stationed in different parts of the country, reported to the central body organised for the relief of distress as follows:—

" *Co. Armagh*.—In this parish we have no resident landlord. "Some absentees hold considerable property in it, and as yet "we have not received contributions from any, except from "two small proprietors. There is little expected from the "others. The resident farmers have subscribed handsomely, "according to their means. Population, 8000.

" *Co. Cavan*.—This district is especially desolate, from there "being no resident gentry in the parish. The principal estate "is in the hands of a trustee, who cannot give any relief. The "remainder of the parish is subdivided amongst many small "landlords, who are all absentees, and none of them contribute "anything; all complaining that they have lost their rents. "One gentleman, who has a few townlands in this parish, but "resides on his property in another, does so much at his own "house, that I cannot ask him to do much here. All look "to the curate alone. The rector is taken up with his own "division, and we are left to ourselves. I believe this to be "one of the poorest districts in Cavan, if not the poorest. "Deaths are taking place from actual want, and if a change "does not speedily come, I fear we shall be amongst the most "wretched in Ireland. Extent, 54 townlands, about 12 square "miles. Population, about 6000.

" *Co. Cavan*.—There is but one landed proprietor, who has "been for three or four years residing abroad. I consider this "parish as peculiarly unfortunate in having no resident gentry "to assist at this crisis, for with all the exertions I can make, I "find it impossible to supply the demands made upon me "by such numbers for daily support. Extent, 4 miles square. "Population, 2800.

" *Co. Clare*.—I have to say, in answer to the remark made

“in your letter, that, in the distribution of a public fund, it is
 “desirable in all cases, as far as possible, that it be done
 “through a regular organisation of the benevolent and intelli-
 “gent inhabitants of the district claiming relief; that, alas! in
 “the district for which my daughter is exerting herself, there is
 “not one person above the rank of a peasant residing; that the
 “greater part is inhabited by very poor people; and that it all
 “belongs to absentees, who have not contributed a shilling for
 “relief, or to persons over whose properties receivers of the
 “courts are appointed.

“*Co. Cork.*—This electoral division being about sixteen
 “miles from Macroom, the sufferers are unable to make their
 “way to the workhouse for relief; and the outdoor pit-
 “tance of sixpence a week, which is the utmost given by the
 “guardians of the union to the sick, is so inadequate to the
 “wants of those who are suffering from disease, that the com-
 “mittee cannot contemplate their misery without feelings of
 “deep sorrow. As not a single resident landlord is to be met
 “with in the whole of this electoral division, the committee
 “can only hope to sustain the sick from the charity of those
 “strangers on whom God hath bestowed the means of relieving
 “their afflicted brethren.

“*Co. Donegal.*—This parish contains upwards of 10,000
 “inhabitants. Of the fourteen landlords to whom the ground
 “belongs there are but two resident, of whom one holds a
 “small property, and the other is much encumbered. The
 “consequence is much neglect and wretchedness among the
 “people, especially the cottiers, who are generally regarded by
 “the landlords as a great injury to their properties, and are
 “therefore discountenanced in every possible manner. Of
 “these cottier or pauper families there may be about 600 or
 “700, comprising about 3,000 individuals.

“*Co. Donegal.*—Two-thirds, exactly, of this parish is the
 “property of two absentee proprietors, both of whose prop-
 “erties are in Chancery for debt. Extent, 4 miles by 3.

“*Co. Donegal.*—The absentee landlord of the greater part
 “of the parish has not subscribed one farthing. Extent,
 “50,000 acres. Population, 10,000.

“*Co. Donegal.*—The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have
 “large estates, but cannot contribute anything unless they are
 “enabled to do so by Act of Parliament. There are other absentee
 “proprietors who have not subscribed. Population, 14,000.

“*Co. Fermanagh.*—The principal proprietor in this district is

“an absentee; who, as he has but a small interest in the property, takes very little trouble on himself about it. There are a good many petty landlords, who try to make what they can of the land, and, consequently, have it set at the highest rates. Population, 6,511.

“*Co. Galway.*—The landed proprietors are all absentees, nor have they contributed a penny towards relieving their tenants since the distress commenced. We have no gentry, nor a second person in the character of a large farmer within the parish. Population, 4,000.

“*Co. Galway.*—The secretaries of the Relief Committee made application, by writing, to twelve landed proprietors, urging the necessity of subscriptions for the relief of the distressed people, but received no reply; only two resident; no subscriptions have been received from either. Large farmers are a class unknown here. Extent of district, 16 miles. Population, 12,000.

“*Co. Galway.*—This district has been one of the most severely visited in Ireland. Last year the potato crop almost universally failed, so that this is the second year of scarcity. It is painful to see the alteration of the people's appearance, and too much credit cannot be given them for their patience under this visitation of the Almighty. No outrages have occurred in the district, and the violations of property have been trifling. The position of a country gentleman left single-handed, as I am, to deal with such a calamity, and doomed daily to hear tales of woe which he cannot alleviate, is truly miserable. I pray, however, that I may be sustained through it, and am truly thankful to the Almighty for the many kind aids He has provided for us.

“*Co. Galway.*—The district within which I am principally connected contains a population of nearly 4,000 souls, of whom a full third are in actual destitution, another third are in deep distress, and not above a sixth are able to support themselves. In this district I am the only resident proprietor, and though the absentee properties are crowded with paupers, afflicted with fever, and prostrated with famine, their contributions are small, and their personal assistance nought. There is, besides, much property in the hands of receivers under the courts, where the usual indulgence cannot be given, where contribution is out of question, and where the utmost misery consequently prevails.

“*Co. Longford.*—This district labours under peculiar dis-

"advantages, and is one of the poorest localities in Ireland. The property belongs entirely to absentee proprietors, and has but one resident gentleman within the circumference of eight miles, and it is also deprived of the residence of either the Protestant clergyman or his curate. For this reason the vice-lieutenant was obliged to call on the resident magistrate, who lives twelve miles from many parts of the district, to act as chairman. It is occupied by small tenants holding from four to ten acres, and very few upwards. The land is bad, and ill cultivated, and the inhabitants never look forward to anything better than potatoes, and having lost them, *are totally destitute*.

"*Co. Mayo*.—There are fifteen absentee landlords; their agents do not live in the parish, and seldom come near it; no non-resident landlord has sent any subscription. The resident landlords, in some cases, are giving assistance to those around them, but no general subscription has been entered into. I, as vicar of the parish, called a meeting, but no one attended, as they said there was no one to represent —, who is the principal landlord and an absentee. Extent, 14 miles by 12. Population, about 16,000.

"*Co. Mayo*.—The landed proprietors of this district are all absentees, with one exception. They have not contributed a farthing to relieve their tenantry. No large farmers. Extent, 7 miles by 4. Population, 5,000.

"*Co. Mayo*.—The landed proprietors of this poor parish are absentees; there has not been a farthing received from any of them. There are not more than four large farmers—these have not subscribed to any relief fund, though they have, according to their means, given much in private charity. Extent, 4,194 acres. Population, 2,500.

"*Co. Mayo*.—Almost the whole parish belongs to absentee landlords, who have given nothing towards the relief of the distress, although there have been several deaths amongst their own immediate tenantry from insufficiency of food. The only resident proprietors are my brother and myself, and there is no clergyman of any denomination in the parish. Population, 10,000.

"*Queen's Co.*—We have not one resident landlord in the district. Applications have been made to each non-resident, and up to the present time we have received but £44. Extent, 18,000 acres. Population, over 10,000.

"*Co. Roscommon*.—All the proprietors but — are absentees, and give no assistance whatever. A large portion of

"the district is in the hands of receivers under the Court of Chancery. Extent, 6 miles by $1\frac{1}{2}$. Population, 3,907.

"*Co. Roscommon.*—All the landed proprietors are non-resident, excepting the chairman of the committee. The rents of three of the largest townlands of the parish have been received for the last thirty years by a receiver under the Court of Chancery; during which time—there being no landlord to interest himself about them—the land has been divided and subdivided into very small holdings, and an immense population has sprung up, who are reduced to the deepest want by the failure of their usual food. Extent, 1,300 acres. Population, 5,810.

"*Co. Roscommon.*—The absentee landlords in this district are numerous. This town is peculiarly situated, as it is the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, by Act of Parliament, are precluded from granting any aid; so that, with a population of nearly 2,000, it is in a state of unexampled distress.

"*Co. Roscommon.*—Our electoral division is so destitute at present, that there is no Poor-Law Guardian. We have not received any government grant, and all societies refuse us aid—except yours—on account of our having no committee. There are no gentlemen in the neighbourhood to form one.

"*Co. Tipperary.*—There is not a resident proprietor in the district. The farmers on the relief committee have contributed. Population, 4,000.

"*Co. Tipperary.*—The proprietor of the soil is an absentee. The property is in Chancery, and no subscription is to be had, although urgently applied for. There is no resident proprietor. Population, about 11,000.

"*Co. Westmeath.*—Our proprietors are, almost without exception, absentees. Extent, 5 miles by 3. Population, 2,526.

"*Co. Wicklow.*—This district has the misfortune of being on the estate of an absentee nobleman, whose embarrassments have placed the entire property in the hands of creditors, and is now being sold under the Courts to satisfy their demands."

In 1879-80 there was a serious famine, which might have kindled into one of the dimensions of its predecessor in 1846-7 but for the charity of the world, principally of the United States and the Australian Colonies. The late lamented Mr. Dwyer Gray, M.P., then Lord Mayor of Dublin, organised a

committee of relief, composed of gentlemen of the most varied creeds, politics, and even nationalities. A most devoted member was the late Archbishop Trench. The present writer was asked by his brother members, unanimously, to visit the County of Mayo, where the distress was most alarming, for the purpose of furnishing reports on the subject. In this, the poorest county in the entire kingdom, it was found that five of the largest landed proprietors were absentee gentlemen of rank, whose estates alone extend over an area of 369,000 acres. The Parliamentary returns prepared by the Local Government Board set forth the valuation of this vast acreage, for taxation purposes, as £71,000, which probably represents a rental considerably over £100,000 a year; in other words, a sum largely in excess of the total amount distributed throughout the county by the various charitable organisations during the crisis of 1879-80, and nearly a third of the valuation of the whole of Mayo. And this, it is to be remembered, merely comprises the property of a few of the class, since the county is interspersed with their estates, numerous if smaller, in various directions. They were true to the traditions of absenteeism; for although the Mansion House Relief Committee was engaged for more than a whole year in keeping their tenants alive by doles of charitable relief from week to week, not one of the absentees in question, viz., the Earl of Arran, Lord Dillon, Earl of Lucan, Marquis of Sligo, Sir Roger Palmer, subscribed as much as a shilling to the charitable fund. And it was precisely the same in other Irish counties. A poor starving man, the tenant of a titled absentee, was asked at one place in Mayo if his landlord ever visited the country, and it was ascertained that he had not, any more than two of his predecessors, ever been seen there. "I have never set eyes on them in this world," he replied. And looking around upon the poverty of his cabin, his ragged wife and children, and his own pale and sickly face, one might well wonder whether he would ever set eyes upon them in the next world either. The resident proprietors felt angry and indignant with the others, whose contemptuous neglect of all the duties of property brings additional odium on the entire class

of landowners in the county. There are numerous instances in Mayo where the absentees have laid themselves open to the severe but just and accurate criticism of Sydney Smith, respecting their heartless and unfeeling disregard of duty:—

“The absentee proprietor looks only to revenue,” observes Sydney, in his *Selected Essays*, “and cares nothing for the disorder and degradation of a country which he never means to visit. There are very honourable exceptions to this charge; but there are too many living instances that it is just. The rapacity of the Irish landlord induces him to allow of the extreme division of his lands. When the daughter marries, a little portion of the little farm is broken off—another corner for Patrick, and another for Dermot—till the land is broken into sections, upon one of which an English cow could not stand. Twenty mansions of misery are thus reared instead of one. A louder cry of oppression is lifted up to heaven, and fresh enemies to the English name and power are multiplied on the earth.”

Nor is Mr. Froude less justly severe, in the second volume of his *English in Ireland*, when he says:—

“The absentee landlords of Ireland had neither community of interest with the people nor sympathy of race. They had no fear of provoking their resentment, for they lived beyond their reach. They had no desire for their welfare, for as individuals they were ignorant of their existence. They regarded their Irish estates as the sources of their income; their only desire was to extract the most out of them which the soil could be made to yield; and they cared no more for the souls and the bodies of those who were in fact committed to their charge than the owners of a West Indian plantation for the herds of slaves whose backs were blistering in the cane fields.”

Scorn, contempt, and indignation have been hurled at the Irish absentee generation after generation in vain. Deaf to every remonstrance, he pursues his evil course of selfish gratification in the streets of London or Paris, not infrequently arm in arm with his half-brother from the Scottish Highlands.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EVERLASTING FAMINE—REAL THOUGH ARTIFICIALLY CREATED.

Query—"Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilised people so "beggarly, so wretched, and destitute as the common Irish?"—BERKELEY, *Bishop of Cloyne* (1734).

IN the reign of Henry VIII., in the few districts then subject to the King's writs within the pale, the people were so oppressed by the courts of law, they were glad to abandon their freeholds for ever. In the Marches not subject to the King's law they were as much oppressed by individual extortion. In the second volume of the *State Papers* of this reign, the Reporter of 1515, looking at the inevitable consequences of such misrule exclaims:—

"What common folk in all this worlde is so poor, so feeble, "so evil-beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trod under foot, and fared so evil, with so great "misery and with so wretched life, as the common folk of "Ireland. What pity is here, what ruth is to report, there is "no tongue that can tell, no person that can write. It passeth "far the orators and muses all to show the order of the nobles, "and how cruel they entreateth the poor common people."

Sir John Davis, an Englishman, who was Attorney-General in Ireland in the reign of James I., explains one of the principal causes of the perennial misery in that country from the earliest times succeeding the English invasion. The system of Coyne and Livery, *i.e.*, food for man and horse, and money also at the will and pleasure of the soldier, Davis says:—

"Drew greater plagues on Ireland than the oppressions of 'the Israelites did on Egypt; lasted 400 years together, and

“was the most heavy oppression that was ever used in a “Christian or a heathen kingdom.” And he apparently agrees with a writer whom he quotes, in thinking, “though it were “first invented in Hell, yet if it had been used and practised “there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed “the kingdom of Beelzebub.”

A few quotations from competent authorities will show what part the landlords had in creating and perpetuating this misery. The Irish viceroys, like so many of the Irish landlords, constantly lived away from the country, drawing their salaries regularly, and delegating their duties to Lords Justices in their absence. Lord Townshend, who was one of the first who condescended to take up his residence in Ireland, thus writes to George III., in behalf of his subjects (*English Record Office*, 1767-72), that is within a dozen years or so of the successful Irish revolt against Great Britain, and the establishment of Grattan’s Parliament :—

“I hope to be excused for representing to his Majesty the “miserable situation of the lower ranks of his subjects in this “kingdom. What from the rapaciousness of their unfeeling “landlords, and the restrictions on their trade, they are among “the most wretched people on earth.”

Wakefield, another Englishman, who travelled in Ireland in 1812, says, in his *Account of Ireland*, volume i. :—

“It is an undoubted fact that, as landlords, they exact more “from their tenants than the same class of men in any other “country. . . . Even if the unfortunate wretch has a little “ready cash to begin with, it only serves in ninety-nine cases “in a hundred as a temptation to the landlord, who, when the “fact becomes known to him, finds means to obtain it under “the name of a fine for possession.”

In his charge to a Grand Jury in 1814, Mr. Justice Fletcher reveals another peccadillo to which some of the landlord class were not averse :—

“Gentlemen, I have seen times, when persons who, think- “ing the lives named in their tenants’ leases were lasting some- “what too long, have, by the aid of the law, found means

“to recommend a trip across the Atlantic to the persons thus
 “unreasonably attached to life ; and thus achieved the down-
 “fall of a beneficial lease, and a comfortable rise of their in-
 “come in consequence. Such things have occurred—I have
 “known the fact.”

In 1822 a committee of kindly English gentlemen was formed at the London Tavern for the purpose of visiting Ireland and helping the famished peasantry. Here is a single sentence from the report of this committee :—

“The distress which has almost universally prevailed has
 “not been occasioned so much by an excessive population, as
 “by a culpable remissness on the part of persons possessing
 “property and neglecting to take advantage of those great
 “resources and of those ample means of providing for an in-
 “creasing population which nature has so bountifully bestowed
 “on this country.”

In January, 1844, the *Edinburgh Review* tells us something more of those gentry and their peculiar dealings with their dependents :—

“The one million families who now occupy the soil of
 “Leinster, Munster, and Connaught scarcely know the exist-
 “ence of the civil law courts, except as the sources of processes,
 “distresses, and ejectments. There are many parts of Ireland
 “in which a driver and a process-server—the former, a man
 “whose profession it is to seize the cattle of a tenant whose
 “rent is in arrear ; the latter, an agent for the purpose of
 “ejecting him—form regular parts of the landlord’s establish-
 “ment. There are some in which the driver, whether em-
 “ployed or not, receives an annual payment from every tenant.
 “On many estates every tenant is served every year with a
 “notice to quit, for the mere purpose of keeping him at the
 “landlord’s mercy ; and still more, the abatements from rent,
 “which every landlord must occasionally make, instead of
 “being absolutely remitted, are kept in legal force, to be used
 “when any motive, pecuniary, or political, or personal, may
 “induce the landlord to exact them.”

The reader who wishes for any more witnesses to the character of Irish landlordism will find them in *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule*. Here it is necessary to resume the story

of Irish famine. In the Life of Usher (1656), the Protestant Primate, he will be found relating, as a thing within his own knowledge, how women were known to lie in wait for and rush out upon a defenceless horseman, and, like famished wolves, drag him from his saddle and seize the horse for the purpose of devouring him. In 1718, the Protestant Bishop Nicholson has the same experience, as related in Mr. Lecky's *Eighteenth Century*. One of his horses, accidentally killed on a journey, was surrounded by "fifty or sixty famished cottagers, "struggling desperately to obtain a morsel of flesh for themselves and their children." The years 1725, 1726, 1727, and 1728 "presented scenes of wretchedness unparalleled in "the annals of any civilised nation," says a writer in volume i. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In 1727, another Protestant Primate (Boulter) observed in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, that since his arrival in Ireland famine had not ceased among the poor; and there was such a dearth of grain that thousands of families were obliged to quit their dwellings to look for support elsewhere. The learned and kind-hearted Bishop of Cloyne, under date 21st May 1741, writes to a friend in Dublin of the terrible famine of that year:—

"The distresses of the sick and poor are endless. The havoc "of mankind in the counties of Cork, Limerick, and some adjacent places, hath been incredible. The nation probably will "not recover this loss in a century. The other day I heard one "from the county of Limerick say that whole villages were "entirely dispeopled. About two months since I heard Sir "Richard Cox say that five hundred were dead in the parish, "though in a county I believe not very populous. It were to be "wished people of condition were at their seats in the country "during these calamitous times, which might provide relief and "employment for the poor."

This, the *third* visitation of the kind within the short period of twenty years, according to Mr. Lecky, is thus spoken of by that historian:—

"Of that famine [of 1740-41] we have many contemporaneous descriptions. According to one writer, 400,000 persons

"died. Bishop Berkeley has left behind him touching descriptions of the misery that came before his own eyes and smote his loving heart; and another writer gives a picture as terrible as any even in the history of famines."

The writer, who is thus referred to by Mr. Lecky, describes with terrible energy as follows the scenes which he witnessed around his own dwelling in Tipperary in 1741 :—

"Multitudes have perished and are daily perishing under hedges and ditches—some by fevers, some by fluxes, and some through downright cruel want—in the utmost agonies of despair. I have seen the labourer endeavouring to work at his spade, but fainting for want of food, and forced to quit it. I have seen the aged father eating grass like a beast, and in the anguish of his soul wishing for his dissolution; I have seen the helpless orphan exposed on the dunghill, and none to take him in for fear of infection; and I have seen the hungry infant sucking at the breast of the already expired parent."

The cemeteries became too small for the burial of those who died on the roadside, or whose bodies had to be sought for in their abandoned cabins. But with all that, the official mind was little disturbed, either in Dublin or London, with the unparalleled calamity, according to Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Bart., who, in his *Irish Crisis*, offers the following striking commentary on the subject for our reflection :—

"The famine of 1741," he says, "was not regarded with any active interest in England or in any foreign country, and the subject is scarcely alluded to in the literature of the day. No measures were adopted, either by the Executive or the Legislature, for the purpose of relieving the distress caused by this famine. There is no mention of grants or loans; but an Act was passed by the Irish Parliament [then the mere shadow of an independent legislature] of 1741 (15 George II., cap. 8), for the more effectual securing the payment of rents, and preventing frauds by tenants!"

Amongst the Records in the Birmingham Tower of Dublin Castle, there has been found a letter of Mr. Secretary Legge,

dated London, May 4, 1740, and addressed to the Irish government, which expresses very naively that the official feelings in London were as little troubled in regard to Irish famine as the Irish landlord parliament itself. In London, ministers were only concerned about the revenue, just as in Ireland the landlords only looked out for the rent:—"I hope the weather," Legge observes, "which seems mending at last, will be of service to Ireland, *and comfort our Treasury*, which, I am afraid, has been greatly chilled with the long frost and embargo." The reader will scarcely be surprised to hear, under the circumstances, that in the midst of the famine, when about 200,000 of the people had perished of hunger and pestilence, a proclamation was issued by the Lord-Lieutenant, an ancestor of Lord Hartington, ordering a general Fast for the success of his Britannic Majesty's arms against the King of Spain! But whether this grim joke originated with the Duke of Devonshire himself, or his royal master, the historian omits to say. As, however, the population of the kingdom was little more than 2,000,000 at that period, the unresisted slaughter of a fifth of the whole shows that neither the monarch nor his ministers particularly regarded the loss. Sheep farming and bullock rearing required but few caretakers in the days when George II. was king; almost as few as the Scottish deer forests do now. Sir William Temple informs us, in volume iii. of his *Works*, that "hundreds of thousands of the population of Ireland were periodically swept off by the plague," which followed the famine, of course. And Sir William Wilde, a Census Commissioner in 1857, says that twenty-five out of the hundred years of the last century, were there years "of absolute want." There was, in fact, a constant tradition of destitution in Ireland. Speaking in the House of Commons, on the 16th of December 1778, Lord Nugent described the population as suffering all the misery and distress which it was possible for human nature to endure. Throughout the entire period, from the beginning of the present century, there was continuous destitution. In 1817 the fevers produced by indigence and famine attacked 1,500,000 persons in Ireland, of whom immense numbers perished.

The *Annual Register* of 1822 said:—

“The whole provinces of Connaught and Munster are in a state of actual starvation. In the month of June there were in the county of Clare alone (the whole population of which is little more than 200,000) 99,639 persons subsisting on charity from hour to hour; in Cork there were 122,000 individuals in the same situation, and in the city of Limerick, out of a population of 67,000, there were 20,000 who had not a morsel to eat save what pity gave.”

Three years later, in the *Diary* of Sir Walter Scott, dated November 20, 1825, there is this passage, written after a visit to Ireland:—

“The poverty of the Irish is on the extreme verge of human misery; their cottages would scarce serve for pig-styes, even in Scotland; and their rags seem the very refuse of a rag-shop. . . . Then for their food, they have only potatoes, and too few of them.”

Ten years afterwards, Gustave de Beaumont, a celebrated French publicist, who was in Ireland in 1835-7, said, in his *Ireland, Social, &c.*, volume ii. :—

“To see Ireland happy you must carefully select your point of view, look for some narrow, isolated spot, and shut your eyes to all the objects that surround it; but wretched Ireland, on the contrary, bursts upon your view everywhere. . . . I have seen the Indian in his forests and the negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their miserable condition, that I saw the very extreme of human wretchedness. But I did not then know the condition of unfortunate Ireland.”

In 1842, when O’Connell was agitating for Repeal of the Union, Kohl, an eminent German traveller, favoured the world with his impressions thus:—

“To him who has seen Ireland, no mode of life in any other part of Europe, however wretched, will seem pitiable. Nay, even the condition of savages will appear endurable, and to be preferred. . . . Indeed, look in whatever direction we may for a comparison, the Irishman stands alone, and his misery is without an equal. This can never be placed in too

“strong a light; for if it is true that the misery of the Irish-man is unique on this globe, every friend of humanity must feel himself called upon to devote his thoughts and his exertions to provide a remedy for the evil.”

Speaking of the condition of Ireland seventy years earlier, Mr. Gladstone once said that any power forcibly interfering to put matters right there would have become entitled to the gratitude of mankind. Were not things every whit as bad during the entire period now under review? Hear the next witness, an English writer. In 1843, a few years before the great famine, our own brilliant novelist, Thackeray, thus gives his impressions on the subject, in his *Irish Sketch Book*:—

“In this fairest and richest of countries, men are suffering and starving by millions. There are thousands of them at this minute stretched in the sunshine at their cabin doors with no work, scarcely any food, no hope seemingly. Strong countrymen are lying in bed ‘for the hunger,’ because a man lying on his back does not need as much food as a person afoot. Many of them have torn up the unripe potatoes from their little gardens to exist now, and must look to winter, when they shall have to suffer starvation and cold too. . . . It is not the exception, it is the condition of the people. . . . The epicurean and traveller for pleasure had better travel anywhere than here; where there are miseries that one does not dare to think of; where one is always feeling how helpless pity is, and how hopeless relief, and is perpetually made ashamed of being happy.”

As to the sufferings of the population during that famine, in 1846-7, it would require a volume to depict them. But who was responsible for all this perennial misery, in one of the most fertile countries in Europe, inhabited by a race that is probably the most industrious in the world? The landlords? As creatures of successive governments, certainly. But Parliament has always looked on at their proceedings, and as Mr. Gladstone has acknowledged, not “only looked on, but encouraged and sustained them.” When the fate of millions of the Queen’s subjects was trembling in the balance, between life and death, the great Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston,

and other English statesmen were contending with one another in the House of Commons nightly, like so many gladiators in the arena, each one in the delightful anticipation of discovering some weak point in the proposals of his adversary, when exhibiting too generous or too practical a plan for saving the lives of the starvelings. Ireland was but the battlefield. The English people were, as is usual with them, charitable, and well disposed to succour the afflicted; but the governing bodies, in office or in opposition, well,—their responsibility for what followed can neither be transferred nor extenuated nor ignored. The Reverend F. F. Trench, perpetual curate of CloghJordan, a cousin of the late eminent Protestant Archbishop Trench, thus relates some of his dread experience in Cork County in 1847:—

“In order to understand aright the position in which I was placed during the time when the remarks which I am about to relate were made, I should mention that Rev. Dr. Traill (the rector of the parish), Rev. Mr. McCabe (the curate), Dr. Sweetman, and myself, were going from house to house, and occasionally standing in the street or road, surrounded by hundreds of clamorous beggars and wretched objects, many of them with evidently dying children in their arms. We went into three houses close to each other, and more dreadful objects I never saw. Dr. Sweetman said, ‘Now, nothing can recover those you saw; they must all die. Sir, the people die unconsciously to themselves; they are foolishly delirious; they die before your eyes. The pulse does not average fifty; there is water between it and your hand. Look down the street—you need not select any house—and it’s worse in the country.’ This I afterwards found to be the case. On entering another house the doctor said, ‘Look there, sir, you can’t tell whether they are boys or girls.’ Taking up a skeleton child, he said, ‘Here is the way it is with them all; their legs swing and rock like the legs of a doll,’ and I saw that it was so in this instance. *‘Sir, they have the smell of mice.’* After I had seen a great number of these miserable objects, the doctor said, ‘Now, sir, there is not a child you saw can live for a month; every one of them are in famine fever, a fever so sticky that it never leaves them.’ . . . In the first house I entered,” Mr. Trench continues, “I saw a dead child lying in a corner of the house, and two children

"pale as death, with their heads hanging down upon their breasts, sitting by a small fire. Mrs. Moore, who accompanied me into the house, told me the sad history of the family. The father had died on the road coming home from work. One of the children, a lad seventeen years of age, had been found, in the absence of his mother, who was looking for food, lying dead, with his head leaning on the hob close to the fire, and with his legs held out of the fire by the little child which I then saw lying dead. Two other children had also died. The mother and the two children still alive had lived on one dish of barley for the last four days. For these famished children I obtained from Mrs. Moore a cake of brown bread, and sent it to them by the mother. In about a minute after I entered the house again, to see whether they were eating this cake voraciously, and found the children sitting in the same posture. I feared they had not got the bread, but they had devoured it. I questioned them closely—asked them what colour it was. The child who replied said it was black; it was coarse brown bread. . . . Amongst a population of about 16,000 still living, I did not see a child playing in the streets or on the roads; no children are to be seen outside the doors but a few sick and dying children. I made this same remark in Bantry, and along the road for twenty miles leading to it. I did not see a child in the streets, and this I remarked to several persons, clergy and magistrates, whose experience was the same as my own."

The present writer had the same remark to make in Mayo during the famine of 1879. All desire for amusement had vanished from the children there. In the same year, Mr. Stewart Trench, the author of the *Realities of Irish Life*, writes as follows of Kerry County; asking terrible questions by the way, which an English statesman, Lord George Bentinck, shall presently be found replying to:—

"Making the fullest allowance for deaths by natural causes," observes Mr. Trench, "and the partial emigration which took place, at least 5,000 people must have died of starvation within the Union of Kenmare! They died on the roads, and they died in the fields; they died on the mountains, and they died in the glens; they died at the relief works, and they died in their houses; so that little 'streets' or villages were left

“almost without an inhabitant, and at last some few, despairing
 “of help in the country, crawled into the town, and died at
 “the doors of the residents and outside the Union walls. . . .
 “Several of the respectable shopkeepers in the town of Kenmare
 “informed me that, at this period, four or five dead bodies were
 “frequently found in the streets, or on the flags, in the morning,
 “the remains of poor people who had wandered in from the
 “country in search of food ; and that they dreaded to open their
 “doors lest a corpse should be found leaning against it. . . .
 “Some were buried underground, and some were left unburied
 “on the mountains where they died, there being no one able to
 “bury them. The descriptions which have been given me of
 “these scenes, by trustworthy eye-witnesses, would appal the
 “stoutest heart, and are far too horrible to relate. Nothing
 “which happened in Schull could exceed the horrors of the
 “famine in Kenmare and the surrounding mountains, and all
 “this took place because there was no one there with sufficient
 “administrative capacity to import corn in time, and to bring
 “the food and the people together ! It has been stated that I
 “have committed an error in saying that there was no one there
 “with sufficient energy to import corn, and that the authorities
 “were paralysed by the magnitude of this sudden disaster. I
 “adhere to my statement. The passage cannot mean that corn
 “was never, or under any circumstances, imported into Kenmare,
 “but that it was not imported in time to save the people’s lives.
 “It may be true that large quantities of corn were ultimately
 “imported, and a flotilla of abundance of food may from time to
 “time have lain in the harbour of Kenmare. But either it was
 “imported ‘too late,’ or the people did not get it when most
 “wanted. Otherwise—*why did 5,000 people die of starvation*
 “*within the Union of Kenmare ?*

“When first this dreadful cry resounded through the land,
 “the question which occurred to every thinking and practical
 “mind was, ‘Why should these things be ?’ Ireland was not,
 “like any part of India, cut off from extraneous supplies. It
 “was true the potatoes had rotted, and it was true the people
 “had depended on the potato almost alone for food. But there
 “was abundance of corn, abundance of flour, and abundance of
 “meal in the country, not to speak of herds of sheep and cattle
 “innumerable ; and in the midst of such plenty, why should
 “the people die ? There was also abundance of money to pur-
 “chase food ; money was freely offered from many quarters, and
 “was ready to flow forth in a mighty stream from the charitable

“people of England to almost any extent. If so, I may again ask, *why should the people die?*”

Mr. Trench might have added that the people died in thousands, and in tens of thousands, also, either on board the floating pest-houses which carried away those attempting to flee to Canada or the United States, or in the Lazaretto prepared in anticipation of their arrival on the transatlantic shore. The official report of the Montreal Emigrant Society for 1847 contains the following pathetic passage, descriptive of the last scene of all, as it is published in the *Montreal Herald* of the 15th of January 1848:—

“From Grosse Island, the great charnel-house of victimised humanity, up to Port Sarnia, and along the borders of our magnificent river; upon the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, wherever the tide of emigration has extended, are to be found the final resting-places of the sons and daughters of Erin; one unbroken chain of graves, where repose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, in one commingled heap, without a tear bedewing the soil or a stone marking the spot. Twenty thousand and upwards have thus gone down to their graves.”

The Trenches wrote of the condition of things in the South of Ireland. In the West and parts of the North it was just the same. In a work published by the Society of Friends, descriptive of the scenes met with by various members of that most charitable body, throughout the country generally, in 1846–47, there are some terrible pictures. Mr. William Bennett thus describes his experience in the West. Writing from Mayo, on the 13th of March 1847:—

“Language utterly fails me in attempting to depict the state of the wretched inhabitants, within the bounds of our Christian land, under our Christian Government, and entailing upon us, both as individuals and as members of a human community, a Christian responsibility from which no one of us can escape. My hand trembles while I write. The scenes of human misery and degradation we witnessed still haunt my imagination with the vividness and power of some horrid

“and tyrannous delusion, rather than the features of a sober reality.

“We entered a cabin. Stretched in one dark corner, scarcely visible, from the smoke and rags that covered them, were three children huddled together, lying there because they were too weak to rise, pale and ghastly, their little limbs, on removing a portion of the filthy covering, perfectly emaciated, eyes sunk, voice gone, and evidently in the last stage of actual starvation. . . . Above, on something like a ledge, was a young woman with sunken cheeks, a mother, I have no doubt, who scarcely raised her eyes in answer to our inquiries; but pressed her hand upon her forehead with a look of unutterable anguish and despair. Many cases were widows, whose husbands had been recently taken off by the fever, and thus their only pittance obtained from the public works was entirely cut off. In many, the husbands or sons were prostrate under that horrid disease—the result of long-continued fever and low living—in which first the limbs and then the body swell most frightfully and finally burst. We entered upwards of fifty of these tenements. The scene was invariably the same, differing in little but the manner of the sufferers, or of the groups occupying the several corners within.”

The late Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., Ex-Chief-Secretary for Ireland, did good work also there, in company with his father, a member of the same charitable society, during the same period. Writing from Galway, on the 25th January 1847, he said:—

“Perhaps the poor children presented the most piteous and heartrending spectacle. Many were too weak to stand; their little limbs attenuated, except where the frightful swellings had taken the place of previous emaciation. Every infantile expression had entirely departed; and, in some, reason and intelligence evidently flown. Many were remnants of families crowded together in one cabin; orphaned little relatives taken in by the equally destitute and even by strangers, for these poor people are kind to each other, even to the end. In one cabin was a sister, just dying, lying beside her little brother, just dead. I have worse than this to relate; but it is useless to multiply details, *and they are, in fact, unfit*. As

“we went along, our wonder was not that the people died, but that they lived; and I have no doubt whatever that in any other country the mortality would have been far greater; and that many lives have been prolonged, perhaps saved, by the long apprenticeship to want in which the Irish peasant has been trained, and by that lovely, touching charity which prompts him to share his scanty meal with his starving neighbour.”

These are but a few of the records of the time telling of the slaughter of 1846-47, which are at best but feeble, scanty, fugitive pictures of an appalling and almost universal calamity. But it has been well observed by the Government Census Commissioners of Ireland in their *Report on Tables of Deaths for the Year 1851*:—

“That no pen has recorded the numbers of the forlorn and starving who perished by the wayside or in the ditches; or of the mournful groups, sometimes of whole families, who laid down and died, one after another, upon the floor of their miserable cabins, and so remained, uncoffined and unburied, till chance unveiled the appalling scene. No such amount of suffering and misery has been chronicled in Irish history since the days of Edward Bruce; and yet, through all, the forbearance of the Irish peasantry, and the calm submission with which they bore the deadliest ills that can fall on man, can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any people.”

What steps did the Government take to avert this great famine or mitigate its horrors? Did the Government take any practical steps at all? During the existence of an earlier famine in 1831, General Sir Charles Napier, writing from India to his brother William, asks (in volume i. of his *Life*):—

“What are ministers about for Ireland? It is nonsense to leave a whole people to private charity. . . . But as the Irish are patient and obedient to the laws of man, instead of adopting God’s law of self-preservation, no exertion is made to help them. Pretty encouragement to be good subjects! There are plenty of ways to help Ireland and they will not try. . . . The accounts of suffering [there] put me in a fever; but my predominant feeling is to stamp on Lord Grey’s full belly until he does something decisive.”

And in the same volume, there is another characteristic letter (this time to his sister), in the following year, concerning the action of the Government in Ireland, in which he observes :—

“They are sending more bayonets and bullets to Ireland, justice halting a long way after military execution. God forgive me, but if one did not know the King is a good fellow himself this is enough to shake loyalty. . . . Stanley would make blood flow to produce love. Coercion! damnable coercion! What has been the ruin of Ireland but this accursed coercion, which these Whigs have been crying down for forty years, and now cry up, being in office. . . . O’Connell is called a devil, but he is doing an angel’s duty. Fools that the Whigs are. Can they put down famine with bayonets? Starve my wife and children and see if bayonets will put me down, except by death.”

Again, in 1847, the gallant soldier does not forget afflicted Ireland at his distant command. In proof of the thoroughly earnest, practical nature of his views, he writes in that year on the 11th of May to H. Napier to the following effect, as will be seen on reference to volume iv. of his *Life* :—

“I am able to send eleven thousand tons of wheat to Ireland, if I can get ships, and at £3 per ton! and yet keep enough in Scinde for our consumption in case of a bad coming harvest.”

His biographer, Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, observes on this :—“Lord Ellenborough [Governor-General of India] pointed out to the ministers how shipping could be had; and how this wheat could be applied to save the starving Irish. But he and Sir Charles Napier were treated alike with scorn.” This is a very serious charge in the circumstances. Read in the light of Lord George Bentinck’s correspondence with Croker which follows, the rejection of this proposal of Sir Charles Napier, supported by Lord Ellenborough, appears to demand some kind of explanation. If the reader will look into vol. iii. of the *Croker Correspondence*, and carefully examine the consecutive pages 139 to 143, he will find that no less distinguished an authority than Lord George Bentinck gives it as his deliberate opinion, which he repeats more than once, that

“a well-counted million of Irish perished of famine, and of “fever consequent upon famine, before assistance reached them” from “the Ministries of the day.” Furthermore, he will find that Lord George directly charges upon the head of the English Government the death by starvation of this “well-counted “million.” He says, in a letter to Croker, dated from Welbeck, September 1847 (that was before the Irish famine had finished its devastations):—

“Such was the improvidence of the Whig Government that “for three months they allowed the opportunity to pass for “laying in stores at two-fifths of the price at which the great “mass of the food for Ireland was eventually purchased. “They allowed one million of people to perish, and the Irish “people to draw the odious comparison and contrast between “the English Government, which preferred keeping seventeen “ships of war idle in the Tagus nursing a Coburg, and the “Congress of the United States, which sent two ships of war— “one, the *Macedonian*, they took from us—loaded from stem “to sternpost, and from her keel to her gunwale, with 1800 “tons of breadstuffs. And I verily believe there is not an “Irishman in Ireland who has not marked the contrast. Lord “Hardwicke, the first seaman in the British navy, declared his “readiness, with forty-eight hours’ notice, to get the guns out “of seven of these [ships in the Tagus], to have their port- “holes battened down, and I think he said to have their top- “gallant masts taken out, and be away for New York, and he “said in eight weeks back again on the coast of Ireland with “80,000 quarters of corn.. [This corn, Lord George says, was “selling for 20s. 4d. per quarter at New York and Philadelphia “on the 11th of December 1846, but it suddenly rose in “Liverpool market to 70s., and at last, he believes, to 80s. a “quarter.] I made this statement in the House of Commons, “and Lord Hardwicke said something of the kind in the House “of Lords the first night of the session [of 1847]. The Govern- “ment laughed at the proposition, and brought in a Bill for the “Suspension of the Navigation Laws. . . . Lord John Russell “had pledged himself to the mercantile interest—that is, to “the corn speculators and corn merchants of the city of London “—‘that the supply of the people should be left to private en- “terprise, and that private enterprise and free trade should not “be interfered with.’ But this is not all; there was a fleet

“ of eight hundred grain-laden ships from the Black Sea lying
“ wind-bound for seven weeks in the Gat of Gibraltar. Of
“ these the greater part were bound for England, the rest for
“ the French Atlantic ports. Louis Phillipe sent all his war
“ steamers to tug the French ships through the Gat of Gibraltar.
“ We had five war steamers lying in the Tagus and the Douro ;
“ our [grain] ships were left to wait the change of wind, and
“ when at last they arrived in the Thames in May [1847], the
“ grain from being so long on board, had in many—I believe in
“ most cases—become so heated that I am assured you might
“ wind the stinking corn nearly a quarter of a mile to the lee-
“ ward of the fleet.”

Finally, Lord George Bentinck charges the Government with falsifying the official returns of corn imported into Ireland at a later period, under virtue of the suspension of the Navigation Laws, and thinks the entire arrivals only amounted to 20,000, instead of the 220,000 quarters officially reported to Parliament and the country ! The greater criminality rests in the fact, which no one has ever yet attempted to explain, that the Government permitted Ireland to be denuded of abundant grain crops, sufficient to resist any encroachment of famine whatever in that country, out of deference to free trade and the principles of political economy. Their wooden-headed, or hard-hearted officials in Ireland ably represented the Government, by carrying out their instructions to the letter. Sir 'Charles Napier might rail at them from India, in what was no doubt considered “ acrimonious “ terms ” in the jargon of Downing Street and Dublin Castle ; Mr. Stewart Trench might ask for some explanation of their imbecility as it was every day unfolding itself before his eyes in Kerry ; Lord George Bentinck, a possible Prime Minister of England, might denounce them as being, with open eyes, accessory to the slaughter of a well-counted million of the Irish people ;—it was all vain, as though it were a decree of fate that the starvelings should turn their faces to the wall and die, trusting to the merits of Christ for the reward which their unparalleled patience, and abstinence from crime, must bring them in another and a better world beyond the grave.

Six months before the date of the *Croker Correspondence*,

speaking in the House of Commons, on the 4th of February 1847, Lord George Bentinck thus testified to that wonderful patience of the Irish people, thus :—

“I can only express my great surprise,” he said, “that, with the people starving by thousands—with such accounts as we have read during the last two days, of ten dead bodies out of eleven found lying unburied in one cabin; of seven putrid corpses in another; of dogs and swine quarrelling over, and fighting for the dead carcasses of Christians; of the poor consigned coffinless to their graves, and denied the decencies of Christian burial, that the price of the coffin saved might prolong for a few days the sufferings of the dying, I, sir, for one, look with amazement at the patience of the Irish people.”

Here is a specimen of the cruel subterfuges to which the Government had recourse while they were daily permitting the exportation of the grain-food grown, as has been already stated, in abundance in Ireland. Even now it is sufficient to madden the most cold-blooded of Saxons to reflect upon it. A deputation from the island of Achill had an interview with Sir R. Routh, at his office, in Dublin Castle, on Saturday night, October the 10th, 1847. The deputation stated the peculiar circumstances of Achill—the total destruction of the potato crop there, and the absence of grain crops in any quantity, owing to the exposed position of the island. The principal object of the deputation was to procure a supply of food from the Government Stores, for which the inhabitants were ready to pay. Sir R. Routh replied that no supply of food of any consequence could be expected before the latter end of November, and that even then it was not his intention to recommend to the Government to sell the food at a price lower than that demanded by the merchants, as it was essential to the success of commerce that the mercantile interests should not be interfered with. Rev. Mr. Monahan, one of the deputation, remarked that the Government acted differently last year, and sold cheap for the purpose of bringing down the markets. Sir R. Routh admitted the fact, but regretted it, as it gave bad habits to the people, and led them to expect the adoption of a similar course now, whereas the Government was determined not to interfere with

the merchants, but to act more in accordance with the enlightened principles of political economy. Rev. Mr. Monahan said he could not understand why the Government was to be fettered by notions of political economy at such a crisis as this. Sir R. Routh remarked that nothing was more essential to the welfare of the country than strict adherence to free trade, and begged to assure the rev. gentleman that, if he had read carefully and studied Burke, his illustrious countryman, he would agree with him, Sir R. Routh.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Edmund Burke was never guilty of writing or speaking words that might be used either to justify or to extenuate the atrocious policy here enunciated by this carefully drilled official—a policy which is so well and so thoroughly exposed in the correspondence of Lord George Bentinck, and the writings of Mr. Stewart Trench. A leading Dublin journal wittily remarked at the time, that Sir R. Routh's reply to the Achill deputation had not even the merit of originality; for there was an Eastern story, in which it was related how a deputation of Sheiks came, once upon a time, to the Calif, and announced the sad intelligence that all their date trees had withered, and his subjects were perishing throughout the region whence they had come. They demanded assistance: but before the Calif could make any reply, an old Moollah, who stood by, told them to return home and read the Koran. Unfortunately the Dublin Castle speech was no "story" but a veritable fact. In the meanwhile, the well-counted million of deaths by famine was being largely supplemented from month to month, while the exportations of food were also being largely supplemented at the same time, out of regard for the principles of free trade and political economy. It was, in very truth, the case of a nation dying of starvation in the midst of plenty. From a revenue return presented to Parliament on 18th July 1849, it appears that Ireland paid, during the three famine years 1847, 1848, 1849, ending 5th January, (altogether) in taxes to the British exchequer, £13,293,681, while her starving people exported to England for payment of rent to absentee landlords:—

595,926 cattle.
 839,118 sheep.
 698,021 pigs.
 959,640 quarters wheat-flour.
 3,658,875 „ „ oats and meal.

Under the title of *A Mystery*, the translator of Calderon's dramatic plays published a pathetic poem on the subject, of which the following were the opening lines:—

“They are dying ! they are dying ! where the golden corn is growing,
 They are dying ! they are dying ! where the crowded herds are lowing ;
 They are gasping for existence where the streams of life are flowing,
 And they perish of the plague where the breeze of health is blowing.”

It is said that more than one Irish coroner's jury, holding quest over the slaughtered innocents in the early days of the famine—the inquests ceased to be held, as being unnecessary, after a time—brought in a verdict of manslaughter against Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister ; in some instances including Sir Robert Peel in the indictment. Many of the newspapers of the time made merry over this fresh specimen of the imperturbable Irish bull. Yet those who now carefully peruse the foregoing passages from the *Croker Correspondence* will readily admit that such verdicts were neither irrational nor illogical,—certainly not in the opinion of a distinguished contemporary English statesman, the rising hope of a great political party, viz., Lord George Bentinck. The history of the Irish famine of 1846–7 has yet to be written. The records of the period are becoming more abundant from year to year, to reveal not only the terrible extent of the visitation, but also the inexplicable policy of the Government of the day in permitting the flower of a kindred nation to perish in deference to “the principles of political economy.” What the judgment of the historian will be it is impossible to have any doubt. There is, however, an abiding consolation to be found in the unexampled charity of the British and American people amidst the general gloom.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PUTTING THE SADDLE ON THE RIGHT HORSE.

“The deeds of the Irish landlords are to a great extent our deeds. We “are *particeps criminis*; we, with power in our hands, looked on; we not “only looked on but we encouraged and sustained.”—GLADSTONE.

It is difficult to condone the conduct of the leaders of the various parties then in Parliament, as to the manner in which they dealt with the terrible calamity of 1846–7 in Ireland. But it is even more difficult to explain their inaction subsequently, when the landlords, taking advantage of that calamity, proceeded still further to crucify their tenantry. There is no need to bring forward here any lengthy descriptive passages to illustrate the nature of the barbarities then perpetrated in Ireland under the pretext of legal right. Unhappily we have similar Irish eviction scenes daily reproduced in the newspapers at the present time, to excite our horror and despair,—despair on account of the incompetence of Parliament to interfere, and the hardened selfishness of party government, which is responsible for that incompetence. The following short extract from an official report of Captain Kennedy regarding a single day’s proceedings of the crowbar-brigade in a typical Irish Poor Law Union in 1848, tells us how the evil work was then progressing in Ireland, within ear-shot—almost within sight—of Lord John Russell (the Premier) and Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, the late Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston. Each one of these distinguished statesmen had reached, or was destined to reach, the highest position to which a subject can aspire in the State; while three of them, viz., the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Derby had, prior to 1846, served in the office

of Chief Secretary for Ireland in addition. There is hardly room, therefore, to set up a plea of ignorance or incapacity in this case. Here, then, is a single page from Captain Kennedy's official reports, which were being dinned into the ears of these parliamentary leaders week after week for a period extending over eighteen months, viz., from November 1847 to May 1849:—

“Notwithstanding that fearful and, I believe, unparalleled “numbers have been unhoused in this Union within the “year (probably 15,000),” observes Captain Kennedy, writing from Kilrush Union, County Clare, on the 7th of May 1849, “it seems hardly credible that 1200 more have had their “dwellings levelled within a fortnight. . . . I find that my “constant and untiring exertions make but little impression “upon the mass of fearful suffering. As soon as one horde “of houseless and all but naked paupers are dead, or provided “for in the workhouse, another wholesale eviction doubles the “number, who, in their turn, pass through the same ordeal of “wandering from house to house or burrowing in bogs or “behind ditches till, broken down by privation and exposure “to the elements, they seek the workhouse or die by the road- “side. The state of some districts of the Union during the “last fourteen days baffles description. . . . As cabins become “fewer, lodgings, however miserable, become more difficult to “obtain; and the helpless and houseless creatures [including “innumerable women and children] thus turned out of the only “home they ever knew, betake themselves to the nearest bog or “ditch, with their little all, and, thus huddled together, disease “soon decimates them.”

In the House of Commons, two years before, Lord John Russell quoted Romeo's address to the Apothecary, for the purpose of extenuating, if not justifying, agrarian crime in Ireland:—

“Famine is in thy cheeks,
Need and oppression starveth in thine eyes,
Contempt and beggary hangs upon thy back;
The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law;
The world affords no law to make thee rich.
Then be not poor, but break it.”

Sir Robert Peel was not less emphatic in denouncing the barbarities revealed in this report. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 8th of June 1849, he observed—"I must say that I do not think that the records of any country, civil or barbarous, present materials for such a picture as is set forth in the statement of Captain Kennedy." Sir Robert then dwelt on some of the details, one being the case of two children lying asleep on the dead body of their evicted father, while their mother was fast dying close by. Another was that of a woman lying in a hopeless stage of dysentery. After eviction from her cabin she took refuge in a cow-shed, and now her only chance of escaping expulsion from this last also lay in the fears of the bailiffs to approach her on account of the infection. The third case which aroused the momentary indignation of Sir Robert Peel was that of an evicted poor man who had patched up a temporary shelter in the bog for his family. While his wife and children were searching the sea-shore for particles of food, and he was himself engaged in breaking stones at a distance, the bailiffs fired the hut, as they had previously levelled his cabin. "Three such tragical instances," Sir Robert observed, "I do not believe were ever presented either in point of fact, or as conjured up in the imagination of any human being." This was by no means an isolated case. The great statesman could not plead ignorance of the inhumanity of the proceedings of the landlords against their tenantry; their illegality at times was equally conspicuous. For instance, speaking in the House of Commons on another occasion, Sir Robert thus revealed his perfect familiarity with the nature and circumstances of the atrocious work going on in Ireland:—

"It would appear," he said, "from the evidence of Major M'Kie, who was employed by the Poor Law Commissioners, that the forcible ejectments were illegal; that previous notice had not been given; and that ejectments were perpetrated under circumstances of great cruelty. The time chosen for the most part was night, on the eve of the new year. The people were forced out of their houses with their helpless

"children, and left exposed to the cold on a bleak western shore on a stormy winter's night; that some of the children were ill; that the parents implored that they might not be exposed; that their houses might be left till morning; their prayers for mercy were in vain, and some of them have since died."

Of the landlords but "few" were resident, Captain Kennedy reported. Their agents, however, did duty for them in their absence, and superintended the levelling or burning down of the cabins of the famine and plague-stricken people, in the depth of the winter of 1848-9. What did parliament, directed by its trusted leaders, do to stay the uplifted arm of the evictor? Did Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, come to any humane understanding with Sir Robert Peel, or the other eminent men just named, having for its object the putting of some kind of restraint upon the cruel action of the Irish landlords? It is very painful to have to make the confession, but neither one nor the other attempted anything of the kind. Parliament considered it sufficient to pass an Act providing (1) that the landlords should give forty-eight hours' notice of their intention to evict to the Poor Law Guardians of the district; (2) that the operations of the crowbar brigade should be suspended before sunrise and after sunset; (3) that such operations should thenceforward be illegal on Christmas Day and Good Friday. Finally, the seventh section of the Act provided that the cabins should not be pulled down or unroofed over the heads of the inmates, but that the latter should first be allowed time to escape outside, that is, to prevent their being murdered or permanently maimed inside. Having accomplished this remarkable piece of legislation, with the aid of their respective followers, these six foremost English statesmen simply played the part of Pilate, washing their hands occasionally in public by way of deprecating the atrocious cruelties of the landlord garrison in the sister country. Is it surprising under the circumstances that Mr. Gladstone should be found confessing, forty years later, that "We" are *particeps criminis* with the Irish landlords; that "We" looked

on ; nay that " We " encouraged and sustained them in their evil work ? On one of these statesmen, in particular, it reflects lasting discredit, viz., the great Duke of Wellington. Of the armies which helped to conquer India, half the force, including the Duke himself, was composed of Irish officers and soldiers, according to Mr. Froude. And the proportion of Irishmen in the British army was not less during the Peninsular War (according to the same authority) in which the Duke gained his proudest laurels. There was surely something inexplicably mean in his political life when he forgot the services of his countrymen in this manner, and stood idly looking on while they were being exterminated by their landlords. The gallant Nelson, in the Duke's political position, would scarcely have acted thus. He would have remembered that Britons might sing " Rule Britannia " very small but for the fact that a like proportion of Irish sailors manned his ships at the Nile and Trafalgar. And he would, in common gratitude, have generously legislated for their kinsmen ; at least it would have been in accordance with his chivalrous nature so to do. As it was, Parliament was deaf to the voice of humanity ; but not deaf to the cries of the landlords for fresh manacles for their tenants, to secure their peaceable expulsion from house and home, to die in the ditch. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1848 was rushed through the House of Commons at a single sitting, almost without discussion, with a result that, according to Mitchell's *History of Ireland*, in this year alone, in the words of Captain Larcom's official Government report, " 70,000 occupiers, with their families, numbering about 300,000 in all, were rooted out of the land." And the following year, according to Mr. Joseph Kay, more than 50,000 families were turned out of their homes in like manner ; while to-day, as has been the case during and since the famine of 1879-80, the Irish people are being expelled from the shelter of their homes " actually by battalions," in the words of Sir George Trevelyan, an ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland ; the Government openly aiding and abetting in their expulsion, in spite of the indignant protests of millions of the inhabitants of England and Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MILITARY FAMINES—MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

“The land fainted by reason of the famine.”—GENESIS xlvii. 13.

FAMINES, artificially created, confiscations, exterminations, assassinations, succeeded one another almost unremittingly in unfortunate Ireland. Elizabeth and her successors governed by them, and made them, as it were, the normal conditions of the English domination. In a work of Mr. Godkin (*The Land War*), a former Irish correspondent of the *Times*, and an accomplished, honourable man, there is a quotation from a letter written by Lord-Deputy Chichester, about the year 1607, which reads like a verse out of the prophecies of Joel,—“A fire devoureth before them; and behind them a flame burneth”—

“I have often said and written,” observes Chichester, “it is “famine that must consume the Irish, as our swords and other “endeavours worked not that speedy effect which is expected; “hunger would be a better, because a speedier weapon to employ against them than the sword. . . . I burned all along “the Lough [Neagh] within four miles of Dungannon, and “killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex “soever, besides many burned to death. We killed man, “woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could “find.”

Such was the fate of Ulster, by this date pretty well nigh cleared of its inhabitants. Sad to be obliged to write it, the poet Spenser, the author of the *Faerie Queen*, who, like Chichester, profited materially by the confiscations following this mode of warfare, shared the Lord-Deputy's opinion that famine alone was capable of subduing the Irish. He actually

submitted a detailed plan of his own, for the reduction of Munster, to Elizabeth, from which the following is an extract, to be found in his *State of Ireland* :—

“The end will (I assure mee) bee very short, and much sooner than it can be in so greate a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for: altho’ there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slaine by the soldiour; yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they would quietly consume themselves, and devour one another!”

Nor did the terrible programme remain a dead letter. The author of the *Faerie Queen* himself tells us how it was carried out after the revolt of the Earl of Desmond :—

“Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentifull countrey full of corne and cattel, . . . yet, ere one yeare and a half, they were brought to such wretchednesse as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came; creeping forth upon their hands, for their leggs could not beare them; they looked liked anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, inso-much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withall; that in shorte space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddainlie left voyde of man and beast.”

Here is how Sir William Pelham, another Lord-Deputy, writes to Elizabeth as to the *modus operandi* under his command. The extract will be found in Walpole’s *Short History of Ireland*, as follows :—

“Touching my manner of proceeding, it is thus: I give the rebels no breath to relieve themselves; but by one of your garrisons or the other, they be continually hunted. I keep them from their harvest, and have taken great preys of cattle from them, by which it seemeth the poor people that lived only upon labour, and fed by their milch cows, are so dis-

“tressed as they follow their goods and offer themselves with
 “their wives and children, rather to be slain by the army than
 “to suffer the famine that now beginneth to pinch them.”

But the murderous policy must proceed, though it is very difficult to divine its object. And that they were slain by the sword as well as by famine will be clearly seen from the following description of military doings in Munster. Mr. Lecky, in the second volume of his *Eighteenth Century*, relates the story of another Irish famine as follows:—

“The Lord President [of Munster, Sir George Carew] (he himself assures us), having heard that the Munster fugitives were harboured in certain parts of that province, diverted his forces thither, ‘burnt all the houses and corn, taking great preys, . . . and, harassing the country, killed all mankind that were found therein.’ From thence he went to other parts, where ‘he did the like, not leaving behind him man or beast, corn or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles.’ Long before the war had terminated, Elizabeth was assured that she had little left to reign over but ashes and carcasses. It was boasted that in all the wide territory of Desmond not a town, castle, village, or farmhouse was unburnt; and a high English official, writing in 1582, computed that in six months more than 30,000 people had been starved to death in Munster, besides those who were hung or who perished by the sword. . . . The slaughter of women as well as of men, of unresisting peasants as well as of armed rebels, was openly avowed by the English commanders. The Irish annalists told with horrible detail, how the bands of Pelham and Ormond ‘killed blind and feeble men, women, boys and girls, sick persons, idiots, and old people;’ how in Desmond’s country, even after all resistance had ceased, soldiers forced men and women into old barns which were set on fire, and if any attempted to escape they were shot or stabbed; how soldiers were seen ‘to take up infants on the point of their spears, and to whirl them about in their agony;’ how women were found ‘hanging on trees with their children at their breasts, strangled with their mother’s hair.’”

Mr. Froude, in volume xi. of his *History of England*, narrating what was enacted by the Queen’s troops in the Desmond war, confirms Mr. Lecky thus:—

“The entire province of Munster was utterly depopulated. Hecatombs of helpless creatures, the aged, and the sick, and the blind, the young mother and the babe at the breast, had fallen under the English sword.”

In the southern province, the result of these barbarities, dignified with the name of war, was exactly what might have been expected. The contemporary English historian Holinshed shall describe it :—

“The people were not only driven to eat horses, dogs, and dead carrions, but also did devour the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundry examples. . . . The land itself, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corne, full of cattel, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become waste and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattel, the fields no corne, the aire no birds; the seas (though full of fish), yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, every waie the curse of God was so great [this is surely calling the sacred name in vain], and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travell from the one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smeerweeke, which is about six score miles, he would not meet anie man, woman, or child, saving in towns and cities; nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them laie dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.”

The same horrors had been enacted in other parts of Ireland a few years previously (1576) :—

“At Christmas,” writes Sir Nicholas Malby, President of Connaught, to Walsingham, as cited by Mr. Froude in volume xi. of his *History of England*, “I marched into their [the ‘Burkes’] country, and finding courteous dealing with them had like to have cut my throat. I thought good to take another course; and so with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young, I entered their mountains. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found, where were slain at that time above sixty of their best men, and among them

“the best leaders they had. This was Shan Burke’s country. “Then I burnt Ulick Burke’s country in like manner. I “assaulted a castle where the garrison surrendered. I put “them to the misericordia of my soldiers. They were all slain. “Thence I went on, sparing none which came in my way, “which cruelty did so amaze their followers that they could “not tell where to bestow themselves. Shan Burke made “means to me to pardon him and forbear killing of his people. “I would not hearken, but held on my way. The gentlemen “of Clanrickard came to me: I found it was but dallying to “win time; so I left Ulick as little corn and as few houses “standing as I had left his brother, and what people was found “had as little favour as the other had. It was all done in rain “and frost and storm, journeys in such weather bringing them “the sooner to submission. They are humble enough now, and “will yield to any terms we like to offer them.” Mr. Froude continues:—“Where the people were quiet there was the rope “for malefactors, and death by ‘natural law’ for those whom “the law written would not touch. Where they broke out “there was the blazing homestead, and death by the sword for “all, not for the armed kerne only, but for the aged and infirm, “the nursing mother, and the baby at the breast.”

Shortly before the death of Elizabeth, she was greatly incensed against her favourite Essex because of his failure to suppress an Irish rising; and despatched Lord Mountjoy to Ireland instead, with the largest army yet sent into the unhappy kingdom. He took his instructions from Elizabeth and her counsellor, Cecil, Lord Salisbury’s ancestor, as was the custom with those who preceded him, and endeavoured to trample out rebellion in the old way recommended by Edmund Spenser and adopted by Chichester. Hitherto we have been reading of war north, south, and west; now Mountjoy takes us into the midland counties of Ireland. Here is how the new Viceroy proceeded around Leix, as related by his secretary, Moryson, a not uncandid historian when dealing with the story of Irish famines:—

“Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise “painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords “all the rebels’ corn, to the value of £10,000 [an enormous

"value reckoned by the standard of the time] and upward, the only means by which they were to live and to keep their Bonnaghts (or hired soldiers). It seemed incredible that, by so barbarous [?] inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten as the Lord Deputy here found them. *The reason whereof was that the Queen's forces during these wars never till then came among them to create a famine.*"

Moryson tells us the result of Mountjoy's visit :—

"No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of the towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people, the Irish, dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground."

Hume says, writing of this period :—

"The small army which the English maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay, and as no money could be levied from the island, which possessed none, they gave the soldiers the privilege of free quarters on the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered, and want of security among the Irish introduced despair. For the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. . . . They even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privileges of their laws, and everywhere marked them out as aliens and enemies."

In a letter written by Lord Upper Ossory, quoted by Carte in the second volume of his *Life of Ormonde*, the writer observes :—

"That St. Leger" (who was Lord President of Munster) "was so cruel and merciless, that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed ; and that he ordered, among others, a woman great with child to be ripped up, from whose womb three babes were taken out ; through every of whose little bodies his soldiers thrust their weapons ; which act," adds Lord Upper Ossory, "put many into a sort of desperation."

Mr. Froude is sometimes almost inclined to be as ferocious in regard to Ireland as one of Elizabeth's commanders. But, appalled by these cruelties, he cannot help confessing that though:—

“The English nation was shuddering over the atrocities of
“the Duke of Alva; [and] the children in the nurseries were
“being inflamed to patriotic rage and madness by tales of
“Spanish tyranny; yet Alva's bloody sword never touched
“the young, the defenceless, or those whose sex even dogs can
“recognise and respect.”

In Keble's *Lyra Innocentium* there are some beautiful lines exemplifying the power of children over the wicked:—

“A little child's soft sleeping face
The murderer's knife ere now hath staid;
The adulterer's eye, so foul and base,
Is of a little child afraid.
They cannot choose but fear,
Since in that sign they feel God and good angels near.”

Simple and beautiful character as was the poet of the English Church of the nineteenth century, he evidently knew little of the unspeakable crimes perpetrated under the guise of religion three centuries earlier by the myrmidons of the Cecils, who feared not God nor His “good angels near.” After Elizabeth, James I. prepared the way for fresh famines of the same type. Mr. Froude, in the first volume of his *English in Ireland*, thus refers to the Cromwellian Era succeeding:—

“The blood spilt in the winter of 1641-42 was not washed
“out till, according to the elaborate computation of Sir William
“Petty, out of an entire population of a million and a half,
“more than half a million had by sword, famine, and pestilence
“been miserably destroyed.”

Of the same period, Mr Lecky writes as follows in the second volume of his *Eighteenth Century*:—

“The orders issued to the soldiers were not only ‘to kill
“and destroy rebels and their adherents and relievers, but
“to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns,
“and houses where they had been relieved and harboured, with

"all the corn and hay therein ; and also to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting capable to bear arms.' But, horrible as were these instructions, they but faintly foreshadowed the manner in which the war was actually conducted. I shall not attempt to go through the long catalogue of horrors that have been too often paraded ; it is sufficient to say that the soldiers of Sir Charles Coote, of St. Leger, of Sir Frederick Hamilton, and of others, rivalled the worst crimes that were perpetrated in the days of Carew and of Mountjoy. 'The soldiers,' says Carte, 'in executing the orders of the justices, murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not children.' . . . The saying, 'Nits will make lice,' which was constantly employed to justify the murder of Irish children, then came into use."

In his *Memoirs*, Lord Castlehaven gives a fearful account of the conduct of the troops under Coote's command, "who killed men, women, and children promiscuously." Leland speaks of "his ruthless and indiscriminate carnage ;" while Warner says "he was a stranger to mercy."

Such is a compendious sketch of what may be called the military famines and massacres with which Ireland was visited from time to time. They would, however, be incomplete without some reference to the system of assassination organised by the Cecils, father and son, sanctioned by Elizabeth at their teaching as the merest exercise of statecraft, and impressed on her vice-regal governors and commanders as a plain matter of necessity if not military duty. And yet all these crimes of various reigns were committed on the pretence of evangelical religion, though in reality for purposes of robbery and confiscation only. It will be seen in the next chapter with what nimbleness the elder Cecil jumped from Protestantism to Popery in Mary's reign, and from Popery back to Protestantism in that of Elizabeth,—though Mr. Froude says that the virgin queen herself "had never concealed her contempt and dislike for Protestantism." All the same Cecil looked for profit in the double somersault, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, he contrived to secure it for himself as well as for his interesting posterity of to-day.

CHAPTER XXX.

ASSASSINATION AS AN IMPLEMENT OF STATECRAFT.

"In plain English, the term 'practises against rebels' meant the 'deliberate assassination of rebels.'—EDWARDS' *Life of Raleigh*.

CECIL, Lord Burleigh, Lord Salisbury's distinguished ancestor and founder of the family, was a curious mixture of piety and profanity. His biographer, Nares, says—"He confessed himself "in Mary's reign with great decorum, and heard mass in Wimbeldon Church; for the better ordering of his spiritual concerns "taking a priest into his house." He unkindly adds, however, that Burleigh "was not moved by superstition in these proceedings, but by pure unmixed hypocrisy." He had previously secured the valuable endowments of the Abbey of Peterborough from the universal plunder, and no doubt helped himself in Edward's reign from the subsequent scramble for what was yet left of the patrimony of the poor. He was at once a heaven-born minister and a many-sided man. He took office under Somerset only to desert him, which drew from the latter—"Ah, my false friend! I thought he was a religious man; I "have been deceived." Miss Strickland describes him as a man of "many religions." He embittered the last hours of Latimer and Ridley by saying "they were about to die as "traitors to their sovereign," having himself been guilty of treason, both to Mary and Elizabeth, when he plotted with Northumberland for setting their claims aside in favour of Lady Jane Dudley. Isaac Bannister, an Anabaptist preacher, describes Burleigh, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, as "becoming rich by taking his neighbours' goods," adding the bitter truth, that "he went to his half-Popish devotions four

"times a day, thus endeavouring to make Heaven an accomplice in his hypocrisy"—a not uncommon endeavour in our own days too. Yet, according to the *Burleigh State Papers*, he was quite moderate in his rapacity. "In the whole time (26 years) that I have been labouring for her Majesty [Elizabeth]," Burleigh says dolefully, "I have not benefited as much as I was within four years of King Edward," when the expenses of the Royal Household are said to have risen from £19,000 to £100,000 a year! "He was so moderate in his desires," observes Macaulay, "that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates behind him." Clarendon has said of him that "no man was so great a tyrant in this country," and we know the part he played, in conjunction with Leicester and Walsingham, in securing the long imprisonment and final execution of Mary Stuart. Green, the historian, is at his wit's end to account for Burleigh's various characters, and at length explains that in his time "every English subject was called upon to adjust his conscience as well as his conduct to the varying policy of the State!" Still, with all that, Burleigh's piety was proverbial, and shone like a solitary star in the firmament on a tempestuous night. If you turn to Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, you will there see that this man of various creeds and politics, who impartially approved of the murder of Protestants and Papists in turn, as heretics or traitors, is actually the author of *A Prayer for the Use of the Public*, written about the time he was raised to the peerage. Piety and strict orthodoxy have run in the family ever since, like the other precious fruits proceeding from the endowments of the Abbey of Peterborough. In proof of the latter, Lord Salisbury will not to-day even sell a decent site for a church to the Methodists at Hatfield; while the hereditary piety is exemplified in the address delivered before the English Church Congress by his exemplary nephew, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, shortly after poor old Dunne was put to death in that kingdom by process of eviction,—thus, in the words of Isaac Bannister, "endeavouring to make Heaven an accomplice" in that foul judicial murder.

It will be remembered that Isaak Walton, the contemporary

of the Cecils, father and son, advises the Complete Angler to put the worm on the hook tenderly "as though you loved him." It was said of Burleigh that he had no objection to the rack as an instrument of torture provided it were used "as charitably "as such a thing can be." The age in which he lived was, in Ireland at least, an age of assassinations. They were amongst the ordinary means employed by Elizabeth in the government of that kingdom. Burleigh, indeed, according to Mr. Froude, confessed in a letter addressed to the Queen's War Treasurer in Dublin, in 1582, when England resounded with the cruelties practised by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, "that the "Flemings had not such cause to rebel by the oppression of the "Spaniards," as the Irish against the tyranny of England. But the torturing and assassinations proceeded notwithstanding. Men were driven into rebellion by injustice and cruelty, and then when they were found too brave to be readily put down by fair fighting in the open, their leaders were ensnared by offers of friendship into perpetual imprisonment; or they were poisoned with luxurious presents of food or drink; or they were assassinated singly or in batches, at their fireside or at public conferences, — sometimes when exercising hospitality towards their assassins. All these things are to be found duly recorded in the state papers of the time. Essex bitterly lamented his "banishment and proscription to the cursedest "of all islands," because, he said, when writing to his royal mistress, "the rebels were so many and so framed to be soldiers, "that the war of force would be great, costly, and long." How costly it proved to Essex himself, history tells us. "For I have "heard some great warriors say," observes Edmund Spenser, another contemporary authority, "that in all the services they "had seen abroad in forraigne countreyes, they never saw a "more comely man than the Irish man, nor that commeth on "more bravely in his charge." Sir William Pelham, who was another of Elizabeth's commanders, also testified that "the detest- "able service of Ireland was the grave of every English reputa- "tion." According to Mr. Froude, Sir Henry Wallop alone of all English commanders expressed remorse at the work of consum-

ing Ireland by fire and sword. Raleigh learned wisdom in Ireland, having found it easy, he said, to defeat the Irish when they had nothing better to fight with than "darts." Afterwards, when they had provided themselves "with as good pikes and muskets as England hath," he testifies that they were more than a match for their ruthless enemies. Indeed, Raleigh adds this wise saw, which merits the consideration of the superior persons ruling Ireland at the present time,—"*Stultum est eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere.*"

These were the insurmountable difficulties of English government in Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth which led to unsoldierly methods of warfare in that kingdom. Mr. Edwards, in the first volume of his *Life of Raleigh*, says the second Cecil (Lord Salisbury) and his subordinates in Ireland, including Raleigh himself, were little troubled with scruples of conscience as regards what were termed "practises against rebels." In plain English the term meant, he says, "the deliberate assassination of rebels, or even of persons vehemently suspected of an intention to rebel." Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Henry Sidney, and Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, had "practised" in like manner a few years earlier. Raleigh, Carew, Sussex, and Cecil, were at one in this important matter; and Raleigh had actually commended Gilbert, who was his half-brother, for slaughtering indiscriminately with the sword the Irish women and children as well as the men. Depend upon it, they did not act so without authority. By Elizabeth's instructions—for which Cecil was of course responsible—to Carew in 1598-99, on his going over to carry her exterminating schemes into execution in Ireland, she authorised her officers to "put suspected Irish to the rack," and to torture them "when they should find it convenient." Carew fulfilled her Majesty's instructions to their full extent, and at the conclusion of his government she had the satisfaction of finding that Munster was nearly depopulated. There is a spirited letter of Ormonde to Burleigh of September 10, 1583, which exhibits clearly enough what kind of service Elizabeth and Burleigh exacted of the royal commanders in Ireland even fifteen years earlier:—

"My Lord Burleigh, the clause in the Queen's letter seems "most strange to me. I will never use treachery to any one, "for it will both touch her Highness' honour too much, and my "own credit. Whosoever gave the Queen advice thus to write "is fitter to execute such base service than I am."

But, as in the case of employing the rack for the purpose of extorting criminal confessions from innocent victims, so there was observed also by the Cecils a certain qualification in respect to the modes of practising against rebels. One of these counsellors of Elizabeth (who is herself shown by Mr. Froude to have condoned such proofs of zeal in her service) avowed, for example, "that he had a rooted objection to the killing of a rebel by "poison," when it was proposed to Elizabeth by Sussex in writing, without eliciting the royal reproof, thus to effect the "removal" of Tyrone in Ulster. And not without good reason too did he take exception to the proposal. The Tudors were mostly monarchs of uncertain temper; and there was in existence about this time a statute of uncommon severity against poisoning (22 Henry VIII., c. 9), which prescribed that the offender should be boiled to death in the presence of the populace, "without the benefit of clergy." The Cecils little regarded the ministrations of the clergy, little believed in the pains and punishments of the next world, or they would not so freely indulge in the practice of assassination of any kind. But this penalty of boiling alive was altogether too nasty a thing to dwell upon, even as a substitute for the axe and the block. On the other hand, "an ambush for the purpose of throat-cutting," the biographer of Raleigh further observes, "Cecil "thought legitimate enough." At the present time the Parliamentary representatives from the sister country appear to be more than a match for the commonplace lieutenants of the Prime Minister in the field of argument and fair discussion. Is it family pride that induces Lord Salisbury to attempt to rid himself of the Irish difficulty by taking away the character of the Irish members by means of a Royal Commission, when it is no longer permissible, even to the heir of the Cecils, to take away their lives? Anyhow, it is a somewhat dangerous occupation

to engage in filling up the measure of the iniquities of one's fathers.¹

This may not be the least appropriate place to insert another passage from Mr. Godkin's *Land War*, in which he asks what are the agrarian outrages in Ireland, but the desperate struggles of a threatened race to break the instruments which would wrench them from their native soil? In the self-defensive war, this outspoken Presbyterian author says:—

“They cannot cope with the armed power of England in the open field; and they are driven upon the criminal resource of the oppressed in all ages and all lands—secret combination and assassination. For this crime they feel no remorse; first, because it is war—just as the soldier feels no remorse for killing the enemy in a battle; and, secondly, because their conquerors, and the successors of those conquerors, have taught them too well by repeated examples the terrible lesson of making light of human life. Poor ignorant creatures, they cannot see that, while the most illustrious noblemen in England won applause and honours by shooting down Irish women and children like seals or otters [during and after the time of Elizabeth], the survivors of the murdered people should be execrated as cruel, barbarous, and infamous, for shooting the men that pull down the roof-trees over the heads of their helpless families, and trample upon their household gods. These convictions of theirs are very revolting to our feelings; but they are facts, and as facts the Legislature must deal with them. If there be a people otherwise singularly free from crime who regard the assassination of the members of a certain class with indifference or approbation, the phenomenon is one which political philosophy ought to be able to explain, and one which cannot be got rid of by suspending the constitution and bringing railing accusations against the nation.”

¹ The second Earl of Salisbury, a third Cecil, taking offence at some losses he had sustained by a rigorous exaction of certain forestal rights on the part of the King, he became a regicide; for he approved the execution of Charles I. by his presence in the House of Lords on the fatal 30th of January. His son became a Papist, abetted the most objectionable acts of the second James, and might have lost his estates in consequence but for the Act of Indemnity of William III. A versatile family truly!

CHAPTER XXXI.

POPULATION AND DESTITUTION.

"Let us think of the half-million who, within two years past, have "perished miserably in the workhouses and on the highways, and in their "hovels—more, far more than ever fell by the sword in any war this "country ever waged; let us think of the crop of nameless horrors which "is even now growing up in Ireland, and whose disastrous fruit may be "gathered in years and generations to come."—JOHN BRIGHT (1848).

It is often asserted that the misery of Ireland arises from an excess of population beyond the power of the country to supply subsistence. But it will be acknowledged, on looking back over the statistical and other facts recorded in these pages, that there is no room for any such off-hand conclusion. Take the experience of a single famine period. In 1822, a public subscription of £304,181 was raised to procure food for the starving peasantry. In that same year, according to a work entitled *Statistical Illustrations*, Ireland exported articles of subsistence alone to no less an amount (at the very reduced value of the time) than £4,518,832; and, in the three years, 1821, 1822, and 1823, to the enormous amount of upwards of sixteen millions sterling; while nearly the whole of the remaining exports, exceeding in the aggregate ten millions more, of those three years, were composed of the products of the Irish soil. It was the old story of 1846-7 anticipated; which leaves not a loophole of escape from responsibility for English statesmen on the plea of inexperience in dealing with Irish famine in the latter years. The following tables of population at various periods in Irish history, since the first English invasion, furnish a complete answer to those ingenious people who imagine that continuous famine in Ireland is due to over

population of the country. One has only to turn to the chapters on famine at page 247, to find how it ravaged the country at all times alike, whether the population was great or small :—

Year.	Authority.	Population.
Reign of Elizabeth 1172	Sir William Petty.	300,000
Previous to 1641	The historian Moryson.	700,000
1652	Petty.	1,200,000
	Petty.	850,000
		(reduced by war and famine)
1672	Petty.	1,320,000
After Revolution of 1688	Captain South.	1,034,000
1718	Thomas Dobbs.	2,169,048
1731	Poll-Tax Collectors.	2,010,221
1762	De Burgo.	2,317,384
1777	Hearth-Money Collectors.	2,690,556
Era of Grattan's Parliament 1792	Reverend Dr. Beaufort.	4,088,226

The population at the time the Act of Union was passed in 1800 has been estimated at 5,300,000 ; and Thomas Newenham reckons it to have been, in 1805, 5,395,456 ; and an incomplete census, in 1812, 5,937,856. The Census Commissioners have subsequently ascertained the following figures :—

In 1821	.	.	.	.	.	6,801,827
„ 1831	.	.	.	.	.	7,767,401
„ 1841	.	.	.	.	.	8,196,597
„ 1851	.	.	.	.	.	6,574,278
„ 1861	.	.	.	.	.	5,798,967
„ 1871	.	.	.	.	.	5,412,377
„ 1881	.	.	.	.	.	5,174,836

The *Dublin Chronicle*, a journal of former times, gives an interesting sub-division of the estimates of population in 1787 ; that is during the first few years of Grattan's Parliament, which contrasts very favourably with the statistics of wretchedness of the present century, to be found scattered throughout these pages :—

Labourers employed	600,000
Handicraftsmen, &c. . . .	580,000
Employed in manufactures	520,000
Shopkeepers, dealers, &c. . . .	260,000
Mariners, fishermen, &c. . . .	46,000
In the army	12,000
Clergy of all creeds	11,500
Resident nobility and gentry	10,000
Law and medicine	5,200
In the revenue	4,000
Unemployed poor, vagrants, &c. . . .	550,000

It will appear almost incredible, but it is a fact that the number of poor actually in receipt of relief under the Poor Law in Ireland of late years is largely in excess of the total number of the unemployed, vagrants, &c., throughout the kingdom in 1787; while the population is about the same, owing to the abnormal proportion of deaths from destitution meanwhile, and the vast emigration of the inhabitants since 1837. The *Daily News* of the 15th of March 1887, in the course of a carefully-written article, shows how Ireland has been going down hill during the last thirty years, especially in this respect; her poverty ever deepening, though the population has been reduced by a million and a half in the interval:—

“Whilst in England and Wales, notwithstanding steady and large growth of population, there has been an actual decrease in the number of paupers, in Ireland the proportion of paupers to population shows a woful increase. In the following tables we give an account of admissions to Irish workhouses during the year ended September 1884, in comparison with admissions during different periods in the last twenty-five years:—

	Total No. adm. in Sickness.	No. adm. who were not Sick.	Total ad- mitted.	Total No. Relieved.
1859	44,260	70,334	114,594	153,706
1871	49,540	131,490	181,032	225,510
1884	53,105	200,237	253,342	299,963

“These are staggering figures, but what are we to say of those for the last two years? A Local Government Board return has just been issued, from which we take the following:—

NO. OF PERSONS WHO RECEIVED POOR RELIEF DURING THE
YEARS ENDED SEPT. 1885-86.

	In Workhouses.	Out-door.	Total.
1885	329,550	120,939	450,489
1886	357,621	348,205	705,826

"At this rate all Ireland will be in receipt of poor relief in a few years. In three years the paupers have much more than doubled. They now number one in every seven of the population. In Connaught, with a population in round numbers of 800,000, 247,134 persons received poor relief last year, or 309 in every 1000. In England and Wales the ratio of paupers per 1000 in the same year only fractionally exceeded 28."

"THE DOMAINS OF THE POOR."

What is the actual state of land tenures in Ireland? The following table shows it as given in the latest official returns of 1881:—

218,000	holdings averaging	£2	each	=	£436,000
196,000	"	"	7	"	= 1,372,000
78,000	"	"	12	"	= 936,000
46,000	"	"	18	"	= 828,000
47,000	"	"	25	"	= 1,175,000
24,000	"	"	35	"	= 840,000
14,000	"	"	45	"	= 630,000
24,000	"	"	75	"	= 1,800,000
12,000	"	"	200	"	= 2,400,000

Total, 659,000¹

¹ According to the *Statesman's Year-Book*, the number of holdings was reduced to 564,352 in 1886, or a reduction of 95,000 heads of families (equal to half a million of souls) in five years. Where are the occupiers gone? Five-sixths of them probably to the United States, to increase the Queen's enemies in that region. What profound and patriotic statesmanship have we not exemplified in this portentous fact! As a mere economic measure, it would have been better for England to have exported the 750 landlords who own 10,000,000 of the 20,000,000 acres of land in Ireland. On the other hand, the Irish soldiers, formerly composing one-half the army, are now only in the proportion of one-sixth. Is there even one grain of comfort to be found in these figures?

It is reckoned that there are altogether about 9,000 landlords in Ireland. Of the 20,000,000 acres of land in that kingdom, one-half is owned by less than 750 proprietors; and 110 landlords hold among them 4,000,000 acres. Sir James Caird, writing to the *Times* on the 20th of March 1886, observed :—

“The land in Ireland is held by two distinct classes of tenants—the small farmers who pay rent from £1 to £20, and the comparatively large farmers who pay rent from £20 and upwards. Of the first class, there are 538,000 holdings averaging £56 each. The rent payable by the first class is £3,572,000, and by the second class, £6,845,000. Five-sixths of the Irish tenants thus pay about one-third of the total rental, and one-sixth pay nearly two-thirds. . . . If the present price of agricultural produce continues, I should fear that from the land held by the large body of poor farmers in Ireland any economical rent has for the present disappeared.”

Upon this the *Times*, after describing Sir James Caird as a man “whose authority on agricultural questions is universally recognised,” declared :—

“It is not too much to say that the rental of the 538,000 holdings is practically irrecoverable by anybody, whether landlord, English government, or Irish government.”

Still, with all their poverty, those humble peasants would pay their way if they could. General Sir Redvers Buller, who was sent to Ireland by Government on special service a few years ago, having these facts before him, arrived at a just opinion shortly afterwards. This is what he stated before a recent Royal Commission as the result of his official experience in Ireland :—

“My view of the country is this,” he said, “that the majority of the tenants meant to pay rents, and where they can pay them, they do pay them. But the rents have been too high. . . . I think that there should be a discretion in giving decrees against the tenants; and that there should be some means of redressing the grievances of rents being still higher than they can pay. You have got a very ignorant poor people, and the law should look after them, instead of which it has

“only looked after the rich. . . . The people sympathise with the National League because they think it has been their salvation. Nobody did anything for the tenants until the League was established.”

“THE MANSIONS OF THE POOR.”

Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, writes, in *A Word to the Wise*, a publication of a century and a half ago :—

“The house of an Irish peasant is the cave of poverty. It may be affirmed with truth that the very savages of America are better clad and better lodged than the Irish cottagers throughout the fine fertile counties of Limerick and Tipperary.”

Arthur Young, writing more than a century ago, says :—

“Shoes or stockings are scarcely ever found on the feet of children of either sex, and a great number of men and women are without them. The cottages of the Irish are the most miserable-looking hovels that can well be conceived. They generally consist of only one room. Mud kneaded with straw is the common material of the walls. . . . The furniture of the cabins is as bad as the architecture—in very many consisting of a pot for boiling potatoes, a bit of a table, and one or two broken stools. Beds are not found universally, the family lying on straw, equally partook of by cows, calves, and pigs.”

Newenham, another excellent English authority, of later date, observes :—

“The habitations of the Irish peasantry, it must be admitted, are, for the most part, little better than the huts of savages. The accommodations of the former in few respects only surpass those of the latter.”

A Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1823, on the employment of the poor in Ireland, reported that :—

“One-half of the population of the distressed districts [which contained 2,907,000 souls and 5,544,000 acres of land] depended upon charitable assistance for support. The cabins [of the peasantry] scarcely contain an article that can be called

“furniture; in some families there are no such things as bed-clothes, and the greater part [of the peasantry] drink nothing but water.”

Sir George Cornwall Lewis says in his work on Irish disturbances:—

“Arthur Young describes the physical state of the Irish peasantry in 1776-78 in terms which might with scarcely an alteration be applied to them at the present time (1837). The engraving of an Irish cabin, contained in his work, is an exact representation of the hovels in which the Irish peasants still live.”

The *Times* published the following letter from the Duchess of Marlborough's Dublin Relief Committee in March 1880:—

“The normal state of the peasantry of the wild parts of the west appears to be an almost utter want of clothing except coarse rags, and of covering except old sacks. Major Gaskell mentions in his report that he hardly ever saw in Donegal such a thing as bed-clothes. People were all lying on heaps of straw, their only covering being some old bags. In Clare, Captain Fletcher, another inspector, says the same, and that any kind of rough material fit for bed-covering would be an enormous boon. Thousands of children all through the country have been kept from school by want of clothes, and are described very much as Zulu children. In the islands the case is still worse, some of the people being described as perfectly naked, with the exception of an old rag or shawl about them.”

In the course of a speech he made in the last session of Parliament (1888), Mr. Gladstone quoted the Irish eviction returns given in Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* (a work of authority), which are greatly in excess of those made from quarter to quarter by the Irish constabulary. Upon this he was flatly contradicted by Mr. Balfour; who showed complete ignorance of his subject when he imagined that the constabulary returns were all sufficient as a guide to the number of evictions. They are nothing of the kind. Mr. Mulhall has since vindicated his statistics, with apparent completeness, in a letter

to the *Times*. But long before Mr. Balfour became so notorious as he now is, the late Professor Cairnes, the most eminent political economist of his day, demurred to those returns as being entirely illusory, observing that evictions were carried on to a far greater extent than the recorded returns would indicate. He says, in his *Political Essays* :—

“No eviction appears in these returns which has not come under judicial cognizance, and been actually carried into effect by the judicial authorities; whereas it is notorious that a mere ‘notice to quit’ will frequently do all the work of an eviction, and that a single example of the rigour of the law will naturally reduce many tenants to submission;” without reckoning those who have been driven by “positive physical violence” from their homes.

This is the passage from Mr. Mulhall’s work to which exception was taken with such volubility of tongue :—

“The present reign has been the most disastrous since that of Elizabeth, as the following statistics show :—

Died of famine	1,225,000
Persons evicted	3,668,000
Number of emigrants	4,186,000

“Evictions were most numerous immediately after the famine, the landlords availing themselves of the period of greatest calamity to enforce their ‘rights.’ Official returns give the number of families, and these averaging 7 persons we ascertain the actual number of persons evicted :—

Years.	Families.	Persons.
1849-51	263,000	1,841,000
1852-60	110,000	770,000
1861-70	47,000	329,000
1871-86	104,000	728,000
Total .	524,000	3,668,000

“The number of persons evicted is equal to 75 per cent. of the actual population. No country, either in Europe or elsewhere, has suffered such wholesale extermination.” Again, he says that “emigration since 1837 has amounted to a number equal to 84 per cent. of the present population :—

1837-50	1,085,000
1851-60	1,231,000
1861-70	867,000
1871-86	1,003,000
Total	<u>4,186,000."</u>

It is an evident clerical error to speak of the returns compiled for the *Dictionary* as being "official" returns; and Mr. Mulhall's average as to the number in each family is undoubtedly higher than is usually assigned to the Irish peasant. His reply in vindication of his figures shows that he did not rely on those illusory returns only for his facts:—

"A letter from Mr. Balfour in your columns [the *Times*] of July 27 contains some incorrect appreciations in which that gentleman has commented on my statistics, and I hope you will permit me to offer a few remarks. First, he says the total evictions were only 113,000 families, but I read in the new edition of the *British Encyclopædia*, article "Ireland," the following passage:—"The Government returns of evictions are incomplete; they do not include those of cottiers, decided at petty sessions." We see by the census returns of 1861 that 402,000 families of cottiers had been unhoused since 1841, viz.:—

Inhabited cabins of one room in 1841 . . .	491,278
Inhabited cabins of one room in 1861 . . .	89,374
Pulled down	<u>401,904</u>

"If these cottiers, most of whom had been evicted, were added to the Government returns, we should have a total much nearer to my statement than Mr. Balfour's.

"Secondly, the deaths from famine were wilfully or otherwise reduced by Government Commissioners from 1,200,000 to 600,000. They assumed the ordinary deaths in Ireland to be 22 per 1,000,¹ whereas from 1864 to 1880 they were only 17 per 1,000. Also that 500,000 Irish settled in Great

¹ "We have estimated (says the report) the ordinary death-rate of Ireland to be as in England—namely, 1 in 45," say 22 per 1000.

“ Britain, although the Census of 1851 shows an increase of only 314,000 since 1841. And as the Irish Census of 1851 was taken on March 31, the emigration for only three months of that year should be counted. We should also consider among the famine victims those who perished crossing the Atlantic, supposed to number 90,000; but even without these the victims were over 1,100,000.

“ The statement of the Commissioners was as follows:—

Population in 1846	8,288,000
Births for 1847-51	1,421,000

To be accounted for	9,709,000
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“ The manner in which they were accounted for by the Commissioners contrasts with the reality thus:—

	Commissioners' Report.	True Figures.
Population in 1851	6,552,000	6,552,000
Emigrated	1,079,000	984,000
Settled in Great Britain	500,000	314,000
Ordinary deaths	978,000	755,000
Died of famine	600,000	1,104,000
Accounted for	9,709,000	9,709,000

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.”

As a proof of the justice of Mr. Mulhall's objections to the police returns of evictions as a test, it should be mentioned that Mr. Joseph Kay, Q.C., in his *Social Condition of the People*, gives the evictions in 1849 as representing 50,000 families; whereas the police only certify for 16,686 families. We have not even a police record for the years previous to 1849, and Mr. Mulhall is entitled to include in his estimate those families evicted during the entire reign from June the 20th, 1837. On the other hand, his estimate of the number slain by famine during the reign is altogether inadequate, if we consider Lord George Bentinck's carefully drawn estimate, to be found in a preceding chapter, of what occurred in 1846-7 alone.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TWO FEATURES IN AN IRISH LANDSCAPE.

"If you would hang up all the landlords who cut woods without fencing, and destroy trees without planting, you would lay your axe to the root of the evil, and rid the kingdom of some of the greatest pests in it."—ARTHUR YOUNG (1777).

THERE is one feature in an Irish landscape which mars the beauty of God's work. It is man's doing; it haunts the recollection of the English traveller in Ireland night and day, and still pursues him years after he has returned home to his own country. Mr. Bright in the course of a speech on the *Regium Donum* in the House of Commons, on the 6th of July 1854, remarked upon it thus:—

"Many parts of the western portion of Ireland presented an appearance which told pretty well that some of the former Governments of that country [England] had been guilty of a great crime towards the sister kingdom."

Twenty years later, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., in his *Parnell Movement*, relates this Irish story of multitudinous life reduced to the stillness of death with vivid power:—

"Ireland to-day," he says, "bears the still fresh scars of the terrible sufferings of the years I am describing and the years which immediately preceded them. The most prominent, the most frequent, the ever-recurring feature of the Irish landscape is the unroofed cottage. There are many parts of the country where these skeleton walls stare at one with a persistency and a ghastly iteration that convey the idea of passing through a land which had been swept by rapidly successive and frequent waves of foreign invasion—by war, and slaughter, and the universal break-up of national life."

Mr. Stead, another close observer of inanimate as well as animated nature, saw some things during his recent travels in Russia to remind him of Ireland. But there was absent from the Russian landscape, he says, that "saddest, dreariest, and "most characteristic feature" referred to by Mr. Bright and Mr. O'Connor,—despotic Russia is not, in fact, strewn with traces of the evil work accomplished by the crowbar brigade. Writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in May 1888, Mr. Stead observes :—

"It is not the round tower which is the distinctive Hibernian structure, but the rough triangular wedge of masonry left standing here, there, and everywhere in all parts of rural Ireland, marking the place where a family had gathered under the sheltering roof-tree of a humble home, but which now is but a desolation and a ruin. . . . Alone among the peoples of Europe the numbers of the Irish dwindle in their own land. In Russia the population increases and multiplies amain, adding a million or a million and a half to its hundred millions every recurring year. Hence naturally the landscape is not scarred with the wreck of dismantled houses, nor is the eye pained by the perpetual reminder of the chronic civil war that rages across the Irish Sea between the evictors and the evicted."

There is another feature in the Irish landscape which is commonly a puzzle to the English traveller, especially if he seek for a solution of it from the Irish landlords. Ireland was at one time called the "Island of Woods," as it was earlier styled the "Island of Saints." At no remote period the country was as abundantly adorned with natural woods as any other in Europe. In the reign of Elizabeth even, when it was the custom of her merciless commanders to destroy everything which might afford shelter to the unhappy native population, Edmund Spenser, in referring to the beauty of its rivers and mountains, expatiates upon the delicious verdure of the woods and forests which therein abound. Ireland, he said, was adorned "with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and shippes so commodiously, as that, if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the

"seas, of all the world." Swift's tracts and letters lament the wanton destruction of timber in the reign of George I. The new proprietors who succeeded under the ever-recurring forfeitures and confiscations were doubtless sometimes nervously fearing that God's justice might overtake them while yet in possession of other persons' property. And so they felled the trees remorselessly, to fetch just whatever little ready money they might. In the time of William III., the Commissioners of Confiscated Estates reported, according to Macgeoghegan's *History of Ireland*, that those on whom the latter had been bestowed, or their agents, "have been so greedy to seize "upon the most trifling profits, that large trees have been "cut down and sold for sixpence each." When Arthur Young demanded some explanation on the subject, towards the end of the last century, from the descendants of the men who had thus denuded Ireland of those woods which so often inspired the muse of the author of the *Faerie Queen* by their rare beauty, he was impudently told that the peasants alone were responsible for their destruction. Young, however, supplies the true explanation as follows, in the second part of his interesting and most instructive *Tour* :—

"In conversation with gentlemen, I found they very generally "laid the destruction of timber to the common people; who, "they say, have an aversion to a tree. At the earliest age "they steal it for a walking-stick; afterwards for a spade "handle; later for a car shaft; and later still for a cabin "rafter. That the poor do steal it is certain, but I am clear the "gentlemen of the country may thank themselves. Is it the "consumption of sticks and handles that has destroyed millions "of acres? Absurdity! The profligate, prodigal, worthless "landowner [*i.e.* landlord] cuts down his acres, and leaves "them unfenced against cattle, and then he has the impudence "to charge the scarcity of trees to the walking-sticks of the "poor, goes into the House of Commons and votes for an Act, "which lays a penalty of forty shillings on any poor man "having a twig in his possession which he cannot account for. "This Act, and twenty more in the same spirit, stands at "present a monument of their self-condemnation and oppression. "They have made wood so scarce that the wretched cottiers

“cannot procure enough for their necessary consumption, and then they pass penal laws on their stealing, or even possessing, what it is impossible for them to buy. If by another Act you would hang up all the landlords who cut woods without fencing, and destroy trees without planting, you would lay your axe to the root of the evil, and rid the kingdom of some of the greatest pests in it.”

As confirmatory of Arthur Young's summary judgment, it deserves mention that early in the present century, the Insurrection Act was put in force throughout an entire barony in Kilkenny, on account of the cutting down of two or three trees on the property of Lady Ormonde; as given in evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, in 1824:—

“Can you state,” a witness was asked, “on what ground it was the Insurrection Act was applied for, so far as respects that barony, and the circumstances attending it?”—“I understand that some few trees—some two or three—had been felled in the domain of Lady Ormonde, and I am not aware of any other transaction at all that would justify the application of such a measure.”¹

As one of the penalties under this terrible Coercion Act was seven years' transportation for being found out of your house after nine o'clock at night, it is scarcely probable that the peasants often indulged in the luxury of any wholesale destruction of timber under the circumstances.

¹ These observations are used to illustrate some of the manifold evils flowing from coercion in Ireland, and not intended to asperse the character of the Ormonde family as landlords. The present Marquis of Ormonde, for instance, is a resident Irish proprietor, who does not indulge in the extortion of rack-rents under threat of eviction. And there are many Irish proprietors of the same type, who cannot without the most extreme injustice be classed with such specimens of the race as Lords Lansdowne, Sligo, Lucan, &c., though they make the grave mistake of not publicly dissociating themselves from the latter, and in this way bring down upon their own heads unmerited and undeserved obloquy. They will never again have offered to them terms so liberal as those of Mr. Gladstone in 1886. The sands in the hour-glass are running too fast.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ENGLAND'S THREEFOLD OBLIGATIONS TO IRELAND.

“Ought we Englishmen not take shame to ourselves that we have hitherto always treated that ancient, gallant people with such illiberal contempt, who had the start of the Britons for many ages in arts and sciences, in learning and laws?”—Rev. Dr. WARNER.

I. FOR CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILISATION.

It is too much the fashion nowadays amongst the “classes” to deride the Irish claims to equal laws and equal government. But this arises, in some measure, from the intense ignorance which prevails in regard to the inestimable obligations under which Europe generally, as well as England, lies to Ireland for heroic missionary enterprise in the early centuries of the Christian Church in the West. The reader who turns to Green’s *History of the English People*, vol. i., will find the following authoritative observations on the subject:—

“It was not the Church of Paulinus which nerved Oswald to the struggle for the Cross, or which carried out in Bernicia the work of conversion which his victory began. Paulinus fled from Northumbria at Edwine’s fall; and the Roman Church, though established in Kent, did little in contending elsewhere against the heathen reaction. Its place in the conversion of Northern England was taken by missionaries from Ireland. . . . While the vigour of Christianity in Italy, and Gaul, and Spain was exhausted in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, which remained unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy which it has never known since. Christianity was received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprung up rapidly in its train. The science and biblical knowledge which fled from the Con-

"tinent took refuge in its schools. The new Christian life soon beat too strongly to brook confinement within the bounds of Ireland itself. Patrick, the first missionary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world. Irish missionaries laboured among the Picts of the Highlands and among the Frisians of the northern seas. An Irish missionary, Columban, founded monasteries in Burgundy and the Apennines. The Canton of St. Gall still commemorates in its name another Irish missionary before whom the spirits of flood and fell fled wailing over the waters of the Lake of Constance. For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them, had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors; as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West."

"Of all the countries of the West," observes Guizot, in his *History of France*, "Ireland was for a long time that in which alone learning was supported and flourished amid the general overthrow of Europe." When Charlemagne founded the Universities of Paris and Pavia, he confided both institutions to the guidance of Irishmen. Clement was placed at the head of the one, and Duns Scotus, the most widely learned man of his time, at the head of the other. Of this early civilisation Lecky says, in the second volume of his *Eighteenth Century*:—

"It enabled Ireland to bear a great and noble part in the conversion of Europe to Christianity. It made it, in one of the darkest periods of the dark ages, a refuge of learning and of piety. It produced not a little in architecture, in illuminations, in metal-work and music, which, considering its early date, exhibits a high degree of originality and of beauty. . . . England owed a great part of her Christianity to Irish monks, who laboured among her people before the arrival of Augustine."

Sir James Mackintosh, another distinguished historian, in his *England*, vol. i., is equally instructive as to the claims of the Irish in other respects:—

“In one respect Irish history has been eminently fortunate. The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published, with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and exactness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of many of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its present spoken language; they have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame. Indeed, no other nation possesses any monument of its literature, in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of the beginning of these chronicles. The ancient date of the MSS. concurs with the same internal proof as in the Saxon chronicle to support the truth of the outline of their narrative.”

A third authority, Sir E. Creasy, generally confirms Green's estimate of Irish renown in those remote Christian ages, when darkness overspread the face of the rest of Europe :—

“The renown of Ireland, for the number and the eminence of her learned men and saintly ecclesiastics, was in the seventh century far spread throughout Christendom. The special evidence as to particular details of this may be obscure, but the collective proof as to the general fact is conclusive. And the proved fact of the educational and religious institutions of a country being in a flourishing condition proves, by implication, the existence at the same time of a considerable amount of social order and steady government.”

Hallam, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., says :—

“In the seventh and eighth centuries, while a total ignorance seemed to overspread the face of Europe, the monasteries and schools of Ireland preserved in the best manner they could such learning as had survived the revolutions of the Roman world.”

The ages which deserve an exact inquiry at the hands of the English student are those when, according to Dr. Johnson, “Ireland was the school of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature;” when, according to Camden, “our

"Anglo-Saxons went to Ireland, as if to a fair, to obtain knowledge." ledge."

Nor did Jonathan Swift, the Protestant Dean of St. Patrick's, omit to remind England of her obligations to Ireland for her knowledge and religion, as will be found in the following reproachful lines from Scott's *Works*, volume xii. :—

"Britain, by thee we fell, ungrateful isle !
 Not by thy valour, but superior guile ;
 Britain, with shame, confess this land of mine,
 First taught thee human knowledge and divine ;
 My prelates and my students, sent from hence,
 Made thy sons converts both to God and sense ;
 Not like the pastors of thy ravenous breed,
 Who come to fleece the flock and not to feed !"

2. FOR MILITARY SERVICES.

Mr. Froude has no great love for the Irish, but historical facts compel him to do them justice sometimes. Speaking of the soldierly qualities of the Irish race at home and abroad, in the second volume of his *English in Ireland*, he says :—

"The Irishman of the last century rose to his natural level whenever he was removed from his own unhappy country. In the Seven Years' War Austria's best generals were Irishmen. Brown was an Irishman ; Lacy was an Irishman ; O'Donnell's name speaks for him ; and Lally Tollendal, who punished England at Fontenoy, was O'Mullally of Tollendally. Strike the names of Irishmen out of our own public service, and we lose the heroes of our proudest exploits—we lose the Wellesleys, the Pallisers, the Moores, the Eyres, the Cootes, the Napiers [Mr. Froude may include the Lawrences, the Wolseleys, and the Roberts in his next edition], we lose half the officers and half the privates who conquered India for us, and fought our battles in the Peninsula."

After the siege of Limerick, the emigration of Irish soldiers to the continent, drilled and undrilled, was so great it is estimated by high authorities, including the English Newenham, that between the years of 1691 and 1715 there died in the service of France alone no less than 450,000 men ! England

was then, and for a long time afterwards, so denuded of serviceable soldiers that we find it stated by Sir William Draper, so early as 1769, that:—

“The troops in the Mediterranean Sea, in the West Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties, from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms”—that is, all over England and Scotland. “Many of our forces,” he adds, “are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions; their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or, more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland.”

The English soldiers were sometimes reputed to be rather wanting in stamina, or staying power, as we learn from the interesting despatches of the veteran Marshal Schonberg, addressed to his royal master, William III., from the camp at Lisburn, which will be found in the second volume of Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, as follows:—

“The English nation is so delicately bred, that, as soon as they are out of their own country, they die the first campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have seen them serve.” Nevertheless he adds—in allusion to some of the obstreperous jingoes of that day—the “parliament and people have a pre-judice that an English new-raised soldier can beat above six of his enemies.”

The Catholic Relief Bill, passed towards the end of the last century, was no more a concession to the principles of religious freedom and justice than the Emancipation Act of 1829. Both were measures of expediency; and when the French heard of the former being mooted, there was corresponding depression in their ranks. “*Voilà*,” was their first exclamation, “*deux cens mille hommes armés contre nous!*” The Government made haste to obtain value for their forced liberality, until the Irish, only yet partially emancipated, flocked to the English standards in prodigious numbers. In the parliamentary debate upon Catholic Emancipation, on the 13th of May 1805, Fox spoke of all other means of recruiting the British army, when compared with what was to be obtained by the conciliation of Ireland, as “little rivulets to that great ocean of

"military resource!"¹ In the course of that debate also, Mr. Foster, an opponent of the Catholic claims, bore witness to the important and creditable connection of the Irish soldiery with the expedition to Egypt, when he admitted that "the Irish Catholics composed a principal and honourable part of the army under Lord Hutchinson, by which Egypt was vanquished." And on the motion of thanks to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, for the capture of Monte Video, the General who proposed it, in the House of Commons, said "that the 87th regiment, which had so gallantly fought there under Sir Edward Butler, was composed altogether of Catholics," that is Irish—"and that he himself knew, that, of the 4000 men who attacked the fortress, 3000 consisted of Catholics," or, in other words, Irishmen. In 1810, on the 18th of May, Sir John Cox Hipplesley mentioned in Parliament, that, of his own knowledge, out of two levies of 1000 men each, made a few years before, only 160 men were not Catholics; that, in another regiment of 900 in the south of England, 860 were Catholics; and he added, that it was then a well-established fact that the proportion of Catholic (or Irish) recruits "greatly exceeded" that of Protestants (or British) in the English army.² In 1829, the year of Catholic Emancipation, the Irish correspondent of the *Times*, writing on the 3rd of June, makes the following interesting contribution to the subject:—

"A moiety of the soldiers, indeed, I have heard three-fourths, now in Ireland, are Catholics and Irishmen. Even the greater part of the Highland regiments, it is well known, belong to Ireland, and have manifestly been inoculated with the feelings of those among whom they live, and from whom they were taken."

Bulwer, in the first volume of his *England and the English* (1833), observes that "two-thirds of the army are Irish;" a statement not credible. How far these estimates of Grattan, Bulwer, and Mr. Froude are reliable it is impossible to say, without having the Adjutant-General's official returns of the time wherewith to test them. One thing, however, is clearly

¹ *Par. Deb.*, vol. iv.

² *Par. Deb.*, vol. xvii.

enough established, that the Irish soldiers of 1815 were admitted to be, physically, the strongest men in Europe. In Chambers' *Information for the People*, and the Papers of the British Association for August 1836, respectively, a comparative examination of the various European armies assembled in France, after the fall of Napoleon, is said to have been made by the celebrated Scotch and Belgian professors, Forbes and Quetelet, with this result. It was wonderful, when we consider the wretched cabins and miserable diet which were their portion at home in early life. The splendid anatomy was there, and only required a little extra food to clothe it in all but superfluous flesh. Those Irish soldiers of the Peninsular War might be classified with the German children described by Tacitus, who were reared in dirt, ran about naked, and yet "grew up to that size and strength of limb," which were amazing to behold. The landlords, however, have reduced their numbers. The English people little know what they are permitting to be done in Ireland in their name. They are witnessing an attempt to exterminate the descendants of those Irish soldiers who, according to Mr. Froude, composed half the army which conquered India for them; which composed half the army which overthrew the power of Napoleon in the Peninsula, and which as certainly composed half the naval force that manned the wooden walls at Trafalgar and the Nile under the gallant Nelson. Is this a romance, a mere exaggeration? It is a romance certainly, but no exaggeration. One Irish regiment alone, the 22nd of the line, conquered the Indian province of Scinde, 50,000 miles in extent, under their heroic countryman, Sir Charles Napier. Pray listen to the story, as told in a delightful little work of Mr. Davenport Adams, published by Routledge, entitled *Eminent Soldiers*, and say whether there is in the annals of Greece or Rome or France anything to surpass it. On the eve of the memorable battle of Meanee, in Scinde, General Sir Charles Napier, writing to a friend, described the unequal numerical strength of his position in the following terms :—

"To-morrow I march towards Meanee, where report says the
"Amirs have 30,000 men, but have not the pluck to lead them

"in person. I march at midnight, and may begin the battle sooner than the tribes, who have sworn on the Kuran to destroy us, expect. I can take into action about 2800 men and twelve guns; they have about the same number of guns, but their cavalry is called 20,000, and on a smooth plain; mine are about 800, long odds, but to-morrow or the day after we shall know each other's value. I have one British regiment, the 22nd. Magnificent Tipperary!"

Here it will be observed that even the most chivalrous of commanders, and one who proved himself a true friend of Ireland during the great famine in 1846-7, finds it actually necessary (and unavoidable) to describe an exclusively Irish regiment as "British" soldiers.¹ Pray listen to what this Irish regiment achieved in 1843, the same year in which Thackeray described (see p. 252) strong men lying in bed with hunger in Ireland, owing to shameful misgovernment and oppression in their native country. Mr. Adams continues:—

"Giving the signal to advance, Napier rode forward with his staff under a rapid musketry fire. The Baluchi right proved to be covered by the village of Kaltri, which was filled with fighting men and virtually impregnable. But on the left his swift, keen glance detected a weakness, by which he immediately profited. The Shikargah on this side was enclosed by a wall, with one narrow opening or gateway, through which the Baluchis evidently intended to pour forth their thousands on the British flank and rear. On examining this wall it appeared to be nine or ten feet high and to have no loopholes through which the enemy could fire. Napier, therefore, posted the Grenadier company of the 22nd in the gap, informing their brave captain, Law, that he was to block it up; to die there, if need be, but never to give way. Law was faithful to the charge committed to him, he died there; the open-

¹ This is an abiding grievance in Scotland, as well as Ireland. There is no denying the justice of the honest Highlander's remark in Zeluco, with regard to the consequences of the Union between England and his provincialised country:—"Oh!" said he, "whenever a Scotchman is hanged, the English cry out, see that blackguard Scotch rogue—he deserves his fate! But, whenever a *Scotch* regiment defeats the enemy, there is nothing said of anything but the irresistible bravery of the *English* army!"

“ing was herocially defended, and thus the unassuming chivalry
“of eighty men paralysed the action of 6000. Both sides were
“keeping up a heavy cannonade when the 22nd reached the
“Fullaili with a run, and, encouraged by their general, clam-
“bered up the slope and stood upon its summit. They had
“thought to bear down all before them, and they hesitated for
“a moment before the forest of swords that waved in their
“front. ‘Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of
“flowers, stood the Baluchis in their many-coloured garments
“and turbans; they filled the broad deep bed of the Fullaili;
“they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond.
“Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook
“their sharp swords, beaming in the sun; their shouts rolled
“like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they rushed
“forward, and full against the front of the 22nd dashed with
“demoniac strength and ferocity. But with shouts as loud,
“and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big and
“arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen
“of weapons, the musket, and sent their foremost masses roll-
“ing back in blood.’”

Afterwards, Napier put to flight Shir Mohamed with his army of 25,000; pursuing his forces behind their entrenchments at Dubba in like manner. The vanquished are said to have lost in this battle 5,000 men in killed alone. The victors' loss amounted to 270 men and officers, of whom no less than 170 belonged to the gallant Irish regiment, already decimated in the fearful struggle at Meanee. Sir W. F. Napier, in his *Conquest of Scinde*, gives a finishing touch to the story of those antique heroes as follows:—

“On one of those long marches, which were almost continual” [in pursuit of Shir Mohamed], “the 25th Sepoys, “being nearly maddened by thirst and heat, saw one of their “water-carriers approaching with full skins of water; they “rushed towards him in crowds, tearing away the skins and “struggling together, with loud cries of ‘Water! Water!’ At “that moment some half-dozen struggling soldiers came up, “apparently exhausted, and asked for some. At once the “generous Indians withheld their hands from the skins, forgot “their own sufferings, and gave the fainting Europeans to “drink; then they all moved on, the Sepoys carrying the 22nd

"men's muskets for them, patting them on the shoulders, and encouraging them to hold out. It was in vain; they did so for a short time but soon fell. It was then discovered that these noble fellows were all wounded—some deeply; but, thinking there was to be another fight, they had concealed their hurts, and forced nature to sustain the loss of blood, the pain of wounds, the burning sun, the long marches, and the sandy desert, that their last moments might be given to their country on another field of battle."

"Their country," indeed! Why, at that very time the British Government, for whom they had just conquered one of the finest provinces in the East, would not pass a bill through Parliament to save their kinsfolk from eviction, starvation, and death in "their country." No doubt whatever it was the intimate knowledge possessed by the hero of Scinde of England's military obligations to Ireland which put him beside himself with rage when he saw how the Government failed, as is shown elsewhere, to grapple with Irish famine. "My predominant feeling is," he said, "to stamp on Lord Grey's" [the Prime Minister's] "full belly until he does something decisive." And writing to his sister from India at another time (*Life*, vol. i.), the veteran warrior exclaimed:—

"They are sending more bayonets and bullets to Ireland, justice halting a long way after military execution. Can they put down famine with bayonets? Starve my wife and children and see if bayonets will put me down, except by death."¹

During the Crimean War, England was guarded by hired German soldiers—mercenaries. Why? Because English Ministers had assisted Irish and Scottish landlords to slay by famine and the workhouse, or send into exile a vast population from Ireland and Scotland by process of eviction. Now they are again benevolently bent on expelling the Queen's subjects in both kingdoms in precisely the same manner, to increase the multitude of her enemies in foreign parts. Wonderful statesmanlike foresight, to be sure! If Scotchmen permit it, they may indeed continue to sing *Auld Lang Syne*, which will be a very appro-

¹ General Gordon, in his impassive way, said something similar to the present writer in 1881, as to what *he* might do under certain circumstances.

pritate national air in the circumstances, but they will no more be capable of rushing upon the enemy to the cry of "Scotland for ever." In his *Tales of a Grandfather*, Sir Walter Scott has observed :—

"If the hour of need should come, and it may not, perhaps, be far distant—the pibroch may sound through the deserted region, but the summons will remain unanswered. The children who have left [the Highlands] will re-echo from a distant shore the sounds with which they took leave of their own—*Ha til, ha til, mi tulidh* !—'We return—we return—we return—no more!'"

If Englishmen and Englishwomen permit Lord Hartington and our present Prime Minister to exterminate those Irish and Scottish peasants under the circumstances, then will the British Empire surely pass away for want of a valiant race to defend it. It was the fate of ancient Rome, when degenerate rulers permitted the land-sharks and land-grabbers of the day to exterminate the descendants of the men who conquered the world for her. It was the fate of the English at the Battle of Hastings, for the same reason.¹ And posterity will say that England deserved her fate when there are left but too few of her own peasantry even to resist the incursions of the outer barbarians.

3. FOR NAVAL RENOWN.

"In the last war," says Grattan, in February 1792, referring to the American contest, according to vol. iii. of his *Speeches*, "of 80,000 seamen, 50,000 were Irish names; in Chelsea, near one-third of the pensioners were Irish names; in some of the men-of-war, nearly the whole complement of men were Irish." And on the 17th of October 1796, he again, in a speech in the Irish Parliament on Catholic Emancipation, asserted that, without the Irish Catholics, the British navy could not keep the sea; and that their proportion there was such that their indisposition to England would be fatal. "What," he exclaims,

¹ Sir Edward Creasy, in his *History of England*, says :—"The feebleness of the resistance of so brave a people as the English at the Battle of Hastings is attributed by Mr. Kemble to the discontent and depression of the middle class at the gradual absorption of all the public lands by the great owners of that day."

"is the British navy? a number of planks? certainly not; a number of British men? certainly not. No; but a number of British and Irish. Transfer," says he, "the Irish seamen to the French, and where is the British navy?" Mr. Foster, speaking in Parliament in 1805, while opposing the Catholic claims, frankly admitted that Irish Catholics "supply a large proportion of the British fleet with sailors; and that to their courage and to their ardour, Lord Nelson was indebted for his glorious victory at the Nile."¹ Again, it is remarkable that Sir John Cox Hipplesley, in his parliamentary speech of 1810, said that, out of a list in his hand of 46 ships of the line, which, at two different periods, had belonged to the Plymouth division, the Catholics (Irish) "greatly exceeded" the Protestants in the majority of the vessels. In some of the first and second rates the Catholics amounted even to two-thirds, while in one or two first-rates "they formed nearly the whole;" and, in the Naval Hospital, about four years before, out of 476 sailors, no less than 363 were Catholics. Thus, to cite one instance out of many that might be given in corroboration of Grattan's assertion—"In the year 1780," says Sir John Cox Hipplesley, "when fewer Catholics entered the service than at present [that is, in 1810], the crew of the *Thunderer*, of 74 guns, Commodore Walsingham, was composed two-thirds of Catholics," or Irish.² Referring to the same period, Sir J. Barrington also says in his *Rise and Fall*—"The British navy was then manned by what were generally denominated British tars, but a large proportion of whom were in fact sailors of Irish birth and Irish feelings."

So convinced, indeed, were the French republican government of the great and indispensable numbers of Irish sailors in the British fleets, that the first idea conceived by the French Minister, Charles de la Croix, for accomplishing the invasion of Ireland, and rendering her an independent nation, was a scheme to diffuse disaffection, and eventual mutiny and revolt, through the Irish portion of the British naval forces. The celebrated Wolfe Tone said (vol. ii. of his *Works*) in February 1796, "Let it never be forgotten, that two-thirds of the British seamen,

¹ *Par. Deb.*, vol. iv.

² *Par. Deb.*, vol. xvii.

“as they are called, are in fact Irishmen.” And in the first Memorandum upon the condition of Ireland which he presented, during the same month, to the Minister of the Directory, he dwells upon the surprising calculation as conclusive in favour of his proposal for an immediate invasion of Ireland. “I submit “this fact,” he observes, “to the particular notice of the French “Government.” Even these do not constitute the whole of the facts. Collingwood, the friend and companion-in-arms of Nelson, and second in command at Trafalgar, writing to the Earl of Musgrave on the 23rd of April 1808, said :—“One hundred “Irish boys came out two years since, and are now topmen of “the fleet!” And the editor of his correspondence gives the following account of a proposal he then made to the Admiralty with respect to the Irish :—

“He (Lord Collingwood) had found that Irish boys, from “twelve to sixteen years of age, when mingled with English “sailors, acquired rapidly the order, activity, and seaman-like “spirit of their comrades; and that, in the climate of the “Mediterranean, they often, in less than two years, became “expert seamen. . . . He accordingly proposed to the Admiralty “to raise yearly 5,000 Irish boys, and to send a large proportion “of them to his command,” for the purpose, continues the editor, of having them “taught and prepared in ships of the “line, before they were sent into smaller vessels.”

Here, again, as in the case of the component parts of the army during the French war, it is impossible to say how far there is strict accuracy in the startling statements of Grattan, without the Admiralty official returns of the period. It must be confessed meanwhile, that the great orator was a man very careful of his facts; and by no means likely to commit himself to any unguarded statement. Wolfe Tone, too, however much it might be his interest in the emergency to exaggerate the proportion of Irish sailors in the fleets, would hardly have dared to deceive the French government on so vital a point, seeing he had given him a recognised official rank, and carried his own fortunes, for good or ill, on board one of the enemy's foremost ships. Besides, the French general, Clarke, afterwards Duc de Feltre, tested his statements by comparing

them with others from independent sources, and was well satisfied with the result. As to Collingwood's seeming preference for Irish lads, it does not very seriously affect the argument, except as showing that there was at least no insuperable prejudice against employing Irishmen in the navy in his day. Indeed there is no reason why the Irish should not be good sailors. They are Celts, and so are the Cornish men, the Manx men, and the Gaelic-speaking population of Argyle and the Hebrides; all of whom are first-rate sailors. But an interesting presumptive proof has come to the knowledge of the present writer as regards the extraordinary proportion of Irishmen who helped to man the wooden walls of England at the Nile and Trafalgar. It was communicated to him a few years back by Dr. Duigan, C.B., a distinguished officer of the Naval Medical Service, of whom a glowing obituary notice, penned by a number of his surviving brother officers, will be found in the London medical newspapers of December 1884. For some special kindnesses he had shown a naval youth, who was an adopted child of Lady Lucy Foley, the widow of Nelson's secretary and close companion, Dr. Duigan was rewarded with the friendship of that distinguished woman; who was a Geraldine, being a sister of the ill-fated Lord Edward Fitzgerald. His statement was this; that Lady Lucy Foley had more than once assured him, on the authority of her deceased husband, Sir Thomas Foley, and in a manner that deeply impressed him at the time, that more than half the *men*—in some of the ships three-fourths of them—who fought those glorious battles under England's greatest hero, the gallant Nelson, were Irish. "And 'yet,' she would add, her face lighting up with indignation, 'see, Doctor, how England, and her statesmen, have chosen to 'repay the Irish in their own country with nothing but studied 'insult, calumny, and oppression!' It was the knowledge of these things, reaching him when it was too late, that deeply mortified Napoleon in his imprisonment at St. Helena, when addressing Las Casas, he is reported to have said—"If, instead 'of the expedition to Egypt, I had undertaken that to Ireland, 'where would the power of England be to-day?"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE POPES IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH IRELAND.

'English pride might mingle with sacerdotal ambition in the boon of a "new kingdom to Adrian's native sovereign. The language of the grant "developed principles as yet unheard of in Christendom."—MILMAN.

THE same year (1154) in which Henry II. ascended the English throne, Nicolas Breakspeare, an Englishman, became Pope, under the name of Adrian IV. ; the only one of his race who attained such dignity. The king lost no time in sending an embassy to Rome to congratulate Adrian on his election, and at the same time present him with many rich gifts. The Pope in return presented Henry with the kingdom of Ireland, and apparently without much entreaty, claiming the right to do so on the ground that "all islands upon which Christ, the Sun of Justice, "have shone, and which have received the teachings of the "Christian faith, rightfully belong to the blessed Peter and "the most holy Roman Church." Adrian was a good man, but he was vilely deceived, as well as such eminent ecclesiastics as St. Bernard and St. Anselm, in regard to the character of the Irish. The king's chief ambassador, John of Salisbury, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was no doubt put up to tell the Pope a terrible story of resistance to law and order in Ireland, and he was assisted by the royal historiographer, Giraldus Cambrensis, who might have adopted Ananias for a surname, and taken office with the Loyal and Patriotic Union of the time.

The population of Ireland at that time is estimated by Sir W. Petty not to have exceeded 300,000. When therefore 1,500 highly-disciplined Anglo-Norman soldiers arrived on the coast to take possession of the Papal gift, they were welcomed by native

allies to a succession of easy victories over the few scattered tribes there assembled. They were victories "such as are usually" "achieved when well-armed, well-trained, and well-led soldiers" "encounter an undisciplined though brave and numerous" "peasantry," in the words of Sir Edward Creasy. Adrian had then long since gone to his account, having it is said been choked by a fly in the fifth year of his pontificate. Remembering that the history of Ireland has been but one unbroken agony during the seven centuries that have since elapsed, while England has been none the happier by the ill-starred connection, it may be pardonable to wish that the winged insect in question had benignly chosen to operate on Nicolas Breakspeare a few years earlier. Attempts have been made to prove that the Pope issued no bull or brief at all to entitle Henry to become Lord of Ireland. It is maintained by some that the papal documents exhibited before the Irish bishops assembled at Waterford in 1175 (when the fortunes of the Anglo-Normans were fleeting fast) were simply spurious. In fact it is said that forgery and fraud were rife in those days, as in these, to compass a wrongful end by the least defensible of means. And there are not wanting obscure Irish writers of the intellectual calibre of Cardinal Moran¹ who, in their anxiety to exonerate the Pope from complicity in a transaction which has brought so many misfortunes on their country, have pretended the belief that this is how the English king came into a wrongful possession of Ireland. Unfortunately for such a line of argument the Irish contemporary ecclesiastics of highest rank assembled at Waterford regarded and received the documents in question as genuine, and gave in their submission to Henry accordingly. Pope Alexander III., who succeeded Adrian, confirmed the grant or gift bestowed by the latter, and not once or twice only has the Holy See, "since recognised in Ireland a territory of the English" "crown," according to our eminent English Cardinal Newman.

¹ This unpopular ecclesiastic had only a charitable trader to entertain him on his first visit to Dublin, after securing the red stockings. Two years later, some emotional Town Councillors obtained for him the civic freedom! No people on earth are so forgiving as the Irish.

Mr. T. Sullivan, M.P., ex - Lord Mayor of Dublin, a Catholic gentleman who should be an authority on the subject, distinguishes very carefully between the actions of the Popes as temporal rulers and their decisions as chief pastors of the Universal Church. He says in his *Story of England* :—

“ Every Catholic should understand that even if the authentic city of this so-called Bull [of Adrian] were fully established, there is no religious obligation on any one to regard the granting of it as either a wise or a just act. In matters of mere statesmanship, in their dealings as temporal rulers with kings and princes, the Popes were liable to make mistakes, to be misled, to take up wrong impressions, and act upon erroneous opinions. The Popes have never erred, and they never will err, in their definitions of Catholic doctrine ; *there* they are miraculously guided and instructed by the Holy Spirit ; but outside of that line they claim no infallibility, and their acts are to be judged on their merits.”

It surely matters little to the Irish people in their present acute sufferings under what circumstances the Pope presented their country to Henry II. The English king went to Ireland, according to Adrian's idea, to sow the seeds of virtue and extirpate the seeds of vice. John of Salisbury, doubtless, assured his Holiness that his royal master was consumed only with a burning desire to restore law and order and purity of morals in that kingdom, just as our modern Salisbury assures the present illustrious occupant of the Papal chair, by his unscrupulous emissaries (Sir John Errington and the Duke of Norfolk, Monsignor Persico and Cardinal Moran), that Lord Hartington and he are animated solely with the same moral and religious object when battering down the humble cabins of the “ faithful children ” of his Holiness there, whenever they are unable or unwilling to pay an extortionate rack-rent to the Irish landlord on the fruits of their own industry. It is more important to ascertain whether Henry was quite the sort of man to be selected either for the cultivation of virtue or the extirpation of vice. Were his followers and subjects of that era such shining lights at home as to be deserving of selection for the promotion of Christianity in foreign parts ? Pike, a modern English author, in his *History*

of *Crime*, vol. i., rather dashes our confidence in the judgment of Adrian when he was persuaded to confide such a high and sacred mission to Henry and his people. The following passages from the work of so careful a writer would tend to show that if the Pope had been divinely inspired on the occasion he would have sent another Augustine, not to Ireland, but to England, for the reformation of morals and religion in his own country, and in the highest circles even of society there. Speaking of the moral condition of things in England in the twelfth century, during the reign of Henry II., Pike says:—

“The universal want of respect for human life is shown in all the chronicles of the period. In London, where Jews were frequently massacred by hundreds, the streets were, after sunset, given up to rapine and murder. That which would now be called crime became the favourite pastime of the principal citizens, who would sally forth by night, in bands of a hundred or more, for an attack upon the houses of their neighbours. They killed, without mercy, every man who came in their way, and vied with each other in their brutality. . . . It might almost be safely assumed, without evidence, that, when the chief merchants of London were in the habit of practising burglary and murder, the inferior traders were not scrupulously honest. There is, however, no necessity to rely upon conjectures when contemporary documents afford sufficient proof of the fact. False weight, false measures, and false pretences of all kinds were the instruments of commerce most generally in use. No buyer could trust the word of a seller, and there was hardly any class in which a man might not with reason suspect that his neighbour intended to rob, or even to murder him.

“The morals of the Court were no better than the morals of the shop. There was no subject in which the best writers of the period took a greater delight than in the vices of the Court of Henry II. Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, himself a courtier and wit, has described, with sarcasm but with evident enjoyment, the scenes of which he was a witness. He would not, he said, undertake to prove that the Court was hell, but he had no fear of contradiction when he stated that the Court bore as great a resemblance to hell as a mare's shoe bears to a horse's. Hell had been described as a place of torment, but there were no torments imagined by the

"ancient poets which were not realised in the Court. . . . As
"there were birds of ill-omen and of prey in the infernal regions
"described by the classical writers, so, said Mapes, there were
"birds of ill-omen and of prey in the Court. These were the
"justices, the sheriffs, &c., whose eyes were everywhere, and
"who were always careful to punish the innocent. . . . The
"courtiers who wished to distinguish themselves in the king's
"presence made collections of amusing stories. . . . The infidelities of women were commonly the narrator's theme, and
"an exhortation to avoid matrimony was the most common
"given by a man to his friend. . . . A consequence of this
"creed was that the husband frequently set a price upon his
"wife's virtue, and made a profit of his own dishonour. Fathers
"were ready to sell their daughters, and excused the iniquitous
"traffic on the ground that the end would be the same whether
"they received the money or not. The unnatural procurers
"avenged themselves by seducing the wives and daughters of
"their acquaintances and employers."

Of the monarch himself Lingard gives a not less unattractive picture. He says that, under a fascinating exterior:—

"Was concealed a heart that could descend to the basest
"artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No
"one would believe his assertions or trust his promises; yet he
"justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim that it is better
"to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than
"to fail in a favourite pursuit. . . . His temper could not brook
"contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desires, was marked out for his victim,
"and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast."

In 1146, failing to suppress an insurrection in Wales before retiring from the province, the historian adds, that Henry:—

"To console himself for this disgrace exercised his vengeance on his numerous hostages, the children of the noblest
"families in Wales. By his orders the eyes of all the males
"were rooted out, and the ears and noses of the females were
"amputated. Having thus satiated himself with blood and
"covered himself with infamy, on a sudden, and without any
"ostensible reason, he disbanded his army and returned to
"London."

Many kings claiming to reign by divine right have proved themselves very bad characters, and Henry II. was one of them. He did corporal penance for the murder of Thomas-à-Becket, and on his deathbed in 1189 suffered the pangs of the condemned for his proceedings in Wales and Ireland, as his last words seem to reveal—" *Maudit soit le jour ou je suis né, et maudits de Dieu soient les fils qui je laisse !*" On the whole Henry was hardly the monarch—his subjects were scarcely the men—to set out on a crusade against the Irish (who had themselves previously civilised and Christianised the greater part of Europe) to make them better and more faithful children of the Pope. The truth appears to be that Adrian, naturally well affected towards his own country, lent a too ready ear to the English embassy, though he is said to have remarked when accepting the royal presents that some of the ecclesiastics who had conveyed them to Rome, at one time refused to bestow upon him an old coat for charity, when he badly wanted one in his younger days at home in England. Meanwhile, Cardinal Newman is aghast at the extreme credulity of the Pope in the circumstances, and confesses to the fact with characteristic straightforwardness in the first volume of his *Historical Sketches*, thus :—

"It is remarkable that the Holy See, to whose initiative the union of the two countries is historically traceable, is in no respect made chargeable by the Irish people with the evils which have resulted to them from it. And the fact itself is remarkable, that the Holy See really should be responsible for that initiative. There are other nations in the world ill-matched, besides the English and the Irish ; there are other instances of the rule of strangers, and of the compulsory sub-mission of the governed ; but the Pope cannot be called to account for such political arrangements. The Pope did not give Greece to the Sublime Porte, or Warsaw to Russia, or Venice to Austria, or Belgium to Holland, or Norway to Sweden, or the cities of the Rhine to Prussia, or the Septinsular Republic to England ; but, even had he done so, still in some of these instances he would have but united together members of one race—German to German, Fleming to Fleming, Slave to Slave. But it is certainly most remarkable that a power so authoritative, even when not divine, so sagacious

“even when not supernatural; whose acts are so literally the
 “personal acts of the Pontiff, who represents it for the time being,
 “yet of such solemn force and such tremendous permanence;
 “which, by appealing to its present prerogatives, involves itself
 “in its past decisions; which ‘openeth and no man shutteth; and
 “shutteth and no man openeth,’—it does, we say, require some
 “explanation, how an oracle so high and irrefragable should have
 “given its religious sanction to a union apparently so unblest,
 “and which at the end of seven centuries is as devoid of moral
 “basis, or of effective accomplishment, as it was at the commence-
 “ment. What time German and Italian, Turk and Greek, shall
 “be contented with each other; when ‘the lion and the sheep
 “shall abide together;’ and ‘the calf and the bear shall
 “feed’—then, it may be argued, will there be a good under-
 “standing between two nations so contradictory the one of the
 “other—the one an old immemorial race, the other the com-
 “posite of a hundred stocks; the one possessed of an antique
 “civilisation, the other civilised by Christianity; the one glory-
 “ing in its schools and its philosophy, the other in its works
 “and institutions; the one subtle, acute, speculative, the other
 “wise, patient, energetic; the one admiring and requiring (*sic*)
 “the strong arm of despotic rule, the other spontaneously
 “developing itself in methods of self-government and of in-
 “dividual competition. And yet, not once or twice only has
 “the Holy See recognised in Ireland a territory of the English
 “crown.”

As regards the Popes’ dealings with Ireland in modern times,
 they have been most disastrous. It would be highly indecorous
 to hold the Popes personally responsible for the actions of their
 advisers, even in a greater degree than in the case of Her Majesty
 the Queen. Their empire is illimitably more extensive, and it
 is a spiritual one. But with this reservation, it would be as
 idle to deny the existence of the east wind as the blighting
 influence which Rome has exercised and continues to exercise
 on all that constitutes the material prosperity and happiness of
 the Irish people. Whether it be due to ignorance or to indiffer-
 ence, the policy of Rome, in systematically playing into the
 hands of the government in Ireland, is as inexcusable as it is
 inexplicable. There are at this moment in that country thou-
 sands AND TENS OF THOUSANDS of women and children who

neither go to mass nor to school for want of decent rags to cover their nakedness. Why? Because, as will be found abundantly proved in these pages, "of the long wickedness" of English rule there, to use the words of Sydney Smith. *Do the Papal advisers know of this terrible fact?* If they do not, then their ignorance is nothing short of criminal in the circumstances, for they have only to ask the Catholic bishops of the various Irish dioceses for information on the subject. But if they do know it, what are we to think of a policy which sacrifices the happiness of the most virtuous population in Europe to the machinations of unscrupulous and unfeeling men who pretend to the Pope that it is necessary thus to bribe Lord Salisbury in the interests of the "universal Church"? As Cardinal Newman pithily expressed it in his famous *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, in reply to Mr. Gladstone's *Expostulation* of 1874, though "the Rock of St. Peter on its summit enjoys "a pure and serene atmosphere, there is a great deal of Roman "*malaria* at the foot of it." No Irishman ever had so great respect for the Popes in their spiritual office as O'Connell, but neither is there any who had greater distrust and dislike for those persons who arrogate to themselves the right to speak for the Popes as their Ministers. When the Pope was a prisoner to Napoleon in France in 1814, Quarantotti, Vice-President of the Propaganda, insolently directed Irish Catholics to submit to the veto of the government in Ireland on the appointment of their bishops. But O'Connell indignantly denounced both himself and his pretended mandate, and got the Catholic Board to pass a resolution repudiating the authority of Rome in the political concerns of his country. "I am sincerely a Catholic," he said, "but not a Papist, and I totally deny that Gonsalvi or Quarantotti, or even the Pope himself, can claim submission to their mandates in this matter." If the Irish leaders now faltered in their resolve to withstand Papistical pretensions to bind Ireland, by the establishment of diplomatic relations, in the fetters of contingent rags and famine, then would they deserve to see their people enslaved—an object of pity to mankind—for yet another generation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

AMERICAN IRELAND.

"If there be any proposition universally true in politics it is this, that foreign attachments are the fruit of domestic misrule. It has always been the trick of bigots to make their subjects miserable at home, and then to complain that they look for relief abroad ; to divide society, and then to wonder that it is not united ; to govern as if a section of the State were the whole, and to censure the other sections of the State for their want of patriotic spirit."—MACAULAY.

LORD GREY was ashamed of foreign opinion, in his day, as regards our long continued misgovernment of Ireland. If he now lived he would find still more reason to be so. Our kith and kin in America are already politely remonstrating with England on the subject. For instance, the Canadian Parliament petitioned the Queen in behalf of Ireland a short time ago ; and now the President of the United States, General Harrison, has himself actually signed an address, got up amongst his own people, for presentation to Mr. Gladstone with the same object. Speaking in the House of Lords, on the 23rd of March 1846, Lord Grey said :—

"Ireland is the one weak place in the solid fabric of British power—Ireland is the one deep (I had almost said ineffaceable) blot upon the brightness of British honour. Ireland is our disgrace. It is the reproach, the standing disgrace, of this country that Ireland remains in the condition she is. It is so regarded throughout the whole civilised world. To ourselves we may palliate it if we will, and disguise the truth ; but we cannot conceal it from others. There is not, as I have said, a foreigner—no matter whence he comes, be it from France, Russia, Germany, or America—there is no native of any foreign country, different as their forms of government

“may be, who visits Ireland, and who on his return does not congratulate himself that he sees nothing comparable with the condition of that country at home. If such be the state of things, how then does it arise, and what is its cause? My Lords, it is only by misgovernment that such evils could have been produced; the mere fact that Ireland is in so deplorable and wretched a condition saves whole volumes of argument, and is of itself a complete and irrefutable proof of the misgovernment to which she has been subjected. Nor can we lay to our souls the ‘flattering unction’ that this misgovernment was only of ancient date, and has not been our doing. . . . For nearly fifty years now Ireland has been under the immediate control of the Imperial Parliament. Since it has been so a whole generation has grown up, and is now passing away to be replaced by another, and in that time, I ask you, what impression has been made upon the evils of Ireland? . . . The wretchedness and misery of the population have experienced no abatement. Upon that point I can quote high authority [the Report of the Devon Commission].”

Mr. Bright, speaking at Rochdale twenty years later, on the 23rd of December 1867, said, according to a *Times* report:—

“In America you have another Ireland—an Ireland which does not fear the government in Ireland—an Ireland which is full of passion with regard to what they believe to be the sufferings of the country they have left. . . . If the government of England and the government of the United Kingdom, as it is called, had been a government of statesmen, does any man in the world believe they would have allowed things to come to such a pass as this? . . . See what a position we are in. The whole civilised world points to our condition. The newspapers of France, of Germany, and even of Italy, and the newspapers of the United States . . . do not now write about Poland, or Hungary, or Venice, but they write about Ireland, and they point to the people of Great Britain, and say we have not done our duty towards our sister country. . . . And if it were not a delicate subject to treat upon, which I now think it better to avoid, it would be easy to show how greatly we have lost in national power and moral influence with other nations, and especially with regard to our fears of defence. . . . If it were not for the moral sense of the people of the United States, and the good faith and

“honour of their government, there is no doubt but that great trouble—far greater than any we have yet seen—would have arisen on the Canadian frontier between the Irishmen in the United States and the subjects of the British Crown in Canada.”

Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Greater Britain* (1868), asked some pertinent questions of equal significance with the observations of Mr. Bright about the same time. Those questions are of much higher importance now, on account of the vast increase that has taken place in the number of Irish emigrants in the United States meanwhile. The Emigration Statistics of Ireland for 1888, as compiled by the Registrar-General, have been lately presented to Parliament. The emigrants from Irish ports last year were 79,211. It appears that 3,276,103 natives of Ireland have left that country since 1851, considerably more than a million having preceded them between 1837 and that year. This is considerably more than the whole population of Denmark at the present time. The Irishmen go chiefly to the United States. During last year about 6,000 came to Great Britain, only 2,600 went to Canada, 87 to New Zealand, and 3,000 to Australia; while 67,000 went to the United States. The number of women who leave Ireland nearly equals that of the men; and about two-thirds of the whole number are from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. Imagine this population, the flower of a nation's youth and strength—sufficient to people a considerable European kingdom—how it has grown and continues to grow in the United States, whither it is all practically destined to proceed, and you may be able to realise the force of Sir Charles Dilke's questions, of twenty years ago, as follows:—

“When is this drama, of which the first scene is played in Castle Gardens [the emigration dépôt in New York], to have its close? The matter is grave enough already. Ten years ago, the third and fourth cities of the world, New York and Philadelphia, were as English as our London; the one is Irish now, the other all but German. Not that the Quaker city will remain Teutonic; the Germans, too, are going out upon the land; the Irish alone pour in unceasingly. All great American towns will soon be Celtic, while the country continues English; a fierce and easily-roused people will

“ throng the cities, while the law-abiding Saxons who till the land will cease to rule it. Our relations with America are of small moment by the side of the one great question, Who are the Americans to be ? ”

Mr. Cliffe Leslie, the well-known political economist, in his *Land Systems* in various countries, says :—

“ We believe that candid readers of these pages will pronounce not only that the history of Ireland has been one long profligate waste of national resources of every kind, but that one of the most monstrous episodes in that history is the waste of industrial power, and of national strength which takes the name of emigration. . . . What must be the feeling of the exiled peasantry of Ireland at the other side of the Atlantic, when a grave American professor, in a treatise on the principles of political economy, speaks as follows of Irish emigration ?—‘ The policy of English landlords is to depopulate their estates, to make the peasantry give place to flocks and herds as in the north of Scotland, or to compel them to emigrate to foreign lands as in Ireland. Thus they imitate the system which has been practised for centuries in the Roman Campagna, which reduced the fields of Italy in the age of Pliny to a desert, and subsequently surrendered them to the northern barbarians because there were not men enough to defend them.’ The political instinct must be absent from the present generation, if it does not see the wrong which is being done to the next one—a wrong in the strictest economic sense as regards the loss of security as well as of industrial power. *“ Audiet pugnas Vitio parentum Rara Juventus.”* ”

Prominent American politicians, having none but the most friendly feelings towards England, are growing tired of the eternal Irish turmoil in the States, which is due to misgovernment in Ireland. It has become a serious interference with the progress of the country, unsettling the minds of a vast mass of the population, and diverting their attention more or less from their daily labour. For this reason American public men are growing impatient of the obstinacy in wrong-doing of the “ classes ” here at home. It is bad enough to have one’s affairs talked of contemptuously by foreign neighbours. But to have the finger of scorn pointed at England by her own children beyond the seas is simply unendurable. This is how an ex-Vice-

President—who but for his premature death might have become President—of the United States, the late Mr. Hendricks, spoke on the subject of English misgovernment in Ireland as lately as 1885 at a public meeting held at Indianapolis :—

“It is known all over the world,” Mr. Hendricks observed, “that Ireland, since the time of Henry II., has not had fair-play from Great Britain. On the contrary, she has been denied the rights of equal citizenship, and been despoiled of her lands. Every Irishman here to-night—every Irishman in America—is a protest against the bad government of England towards Ireland. How is it that you came here, having left almost the most beautiful land in the world? Perhaps no part of the globe is more attractive than Ireland, and yet you left Ireland. You are here because you could not get good government in Ireland. Forty-five years ago the population of the green island was 9,000,000 of people—a large population for a region of country only the size of Indiana. To-day, after the lapse of forty-five years, that population is about 5,000,000—a loss in less than half a century of 4,000,000 of people—almost the entire half of the population gone from Ireland. . . . I would say it is a serious matter when a man or woman chooses to leave the home that has been the home of his or her ancestors for many centuries. And when on account of bad government, unjust laws, and a cruel system of tenancy, there has been driven away almost half the population, the question what is to be done comes up. It cannot always remain this way.”

In the month of September last, an American public man who was sometime ago named by the popular voice as a candidate for the Presidency, and who will probably attain that much-coveted distinction in the near future—Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, is reported to have spoken as follows to a press interviewer in regard to a recent visit to England :—

“I had half-a-dozen talks with Earl Spencer about Home Rule. He said one strong support of the opposition to it was the widespread belief that the Irish in America were always against the Government, and opposed to the cause of law and order; that they were constant promoters of corruption and disturbance in politics; that they took part with the Anarchists, &c. I showed him how erroneous was this opinion; told him that when the Irishman came here and

“prospered he became a conservative, law-abiding citizen ;
“pointed out to him that while the Irishman in America formerly supported any movement hostile to Great Britain, since
“Mr. Gladstone had become the leader of the Home Rule party,
“they had ceased to be revolutionary, and had rallied to the
“support of Mr. Gladstone and constitutional agitation, and
“were generously subscribing money, not for dynamite, but to
“support legitimate political warfare. He replied that if the
“English could be made to perceive this, if they could get a
“correct understanding of what Irishmen were in America, it
“would prove a most potential factor in influencing public
“opinion in favour of Home Rule.”

Lastly, General Harrison, President of the United States, affixed his signature to a public address from the American people to Mr. Gladstone, on December the 7th last, that is about a month after his election to the Presidency ; thus indicating that his administration is in cordial sympathy with the Home Rule struggle. The following is the full text of that remarkable document :—

“We hereby express our heartfelt sympathy with the Irish
“people in their contention for the right which should freely
“be accorded them ; and we bid God speed to you and your
“associates, the friends of the Irish cause, in the great work
“now on hand. In America this sentiment predominates, and
“the great masses of our people would be glad of an opportunity to express to you their confidence in you and in the
“ultimate triumph of justice. The people of Ireland patiently
“await the outcome. In some localities riot and bloodshed,
“the natural consequences of oppression, occur ; but in the
“main the people are in hope of a speedy triumph. The
“American people are with them in their desire for justice and
“peace, and wish you and your associates added strength and
“roused and renewed determination to hasten the dawning
“of the happy day which will bring a return of goodwill and
“prosperity both to Ireland and England.”

His countrymen are apt to think that it is a sense of justice alone which has persuaded Mr. Gladstone to attempt a final settlement of the Irish question. There can be no denying the existence of this motive ; but there is undoubtedly another which animates his unflagging labours at such a late period in

his honourable career. There is operating in his mind the patriotic motive as well; to spare England, by such a settlement, greater humiliation in the future, in the event of her being engaged in any great war, than any she has yet experienced in her relations with the American continent. As the American Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks, expressed it a few years ago, the present state of things "cannot always remain this way." And Mr. Bright uttered the same warning note, it will be seen, in 1867, though he was then, he says, dissuaded from speaking at greater length because it was "a delicate subject to treat upon." If Mr. Gladstone be not permitted to settle the Irish question now, it can only be by the machinations of political opponents, whose motto is—"Let us live while we may." Meanwhile it is well to know that some of the most influential of the latter are at least alive to the importance of the possible consequences of their opposition. Thirty years ago nearly, on the 4th of May, 1860, the *Times* ventured upon the following prophecy regarding the Irish exodus:—

"The time may come when Ireland will be no more Celtic than the Lowlands of Scotland are Saxon, the eastern counties Danish, Cornwall Phœnician, or Ireland itself Milesian or Spanish. . . . There will then be again an Ireland, but a colossal Ireland, and an Ireland placed in the New World. We shall only have pushed the Celt westwards:—ceasing for the future to be imprisoned between the Liffey and the Shannon, he will spread from New York to San Francisco. . . . We must gird our loins to encounter the Nemesis of seven centuries of misgovernment. To the end of time a hundred millions of people, spread over the largest habitable area in the world, and confronting us everywhere by sea and by land, will remember that their forefathers paid tithe to the Protestant clergy, rent to absentee landlords, and a forced obedience to the laws which these had made. . . . So we shall have nourished and brought up, by us, at home, a power which is called to rule over the New World, to extend its influence over both the oceans, and to become the master of an entire hemisphere. This New World is the last and final home of the Celtic race."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HOW THE UNION WAS CARRIED.

"There are, indeed, few things more discreditable to English political literature than the tone of palliation, or even of eulogy, that is usually adopted towards the authors of this transaction."—LECKY.

THIS work would hardly be complete without some account of the means by which the Act of Union was forwarded and carried in 1800. Two chapters are devoted to it in the author's *Why Ireland Wants Home Rule*, and it will be found detailed in an admirable shilling volume of Mr. Swift Macneill, M.P., a professor in Trinity College, Dublin, and the Protestant representative of a parliamentary division of the Catholic county of Donegal. Mr. Gladstone has, however, more briefly and powerfully described those means of corruption and terror in the course of a literary review in the *Nineteenth Century* of October 1887, by the series of propositions which will be found to follow. Mr. Ross, the editor of the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, relates how much documentary evidence on the subject has been purposely destroyed, to conceal the infamy of the principal actors in the business, as was lately done, on a smaller scale, in regard to the Pigott correspondence. After referring to the valuable sources of information contained in the Spencer, Hardwicke, Sydney, &c., papers, he observes :—

"But, upon investigation, it appeared that such documents as might have thrown additional light on the history of those times, and especially of the Union, had been purposely destroyed. For instance, after a search instituted at Welbeck by the kindness of the Duke of Portland, it was ascertained that the late Duke had burnt all his father's political papers from 1780 to his death. In like manner the Chancellor (Lord Clare), Mr. Wickham, Mr. King, Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir

“Edward Littlehales, Mr. Marsden, the Knight of Kerry, and “indeed almost all the persons officially concerned in carrying “the Union, appear to have destroyed the whole of their papers.”

Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that it would not be difficult to show that the British Government took an active part in the work of suppression. And he refers to the Opposition speeches on the Union, with other documents, carefully prepared for publication, which were sold to Lord Castlereagh by an unprincipled publisher, and afterwards consigned to the flames in Dublin Castle, the congenial scene of many such transactions:—

“The castle still stands though the senate’s no more !”

“The inference is nearly inevitable,” Mr. Gladstone observes, “that the history of the Union has been so exceptionally black, “that it must be hidden from the eyes of men.” Lord Cornwallis, who was Viceroy at this period, was so appalled by the universal corruption in which he found himself compelled to take part with Lord Castlereagh, who felt no such remorse, he said that, but for his hope of getting away from the country, he would most earnestly pray for “immediate death !” Notwithstanding, on the 19th of February 1801, when the Act was in force, Lord Cornwallis sent to the Duke of Portland a sort of residuary list of his unfulfilled promises to some of those who had voted for the Union. It comprised thirteen legal appointments, four steps in the peerage, and thirty promises of salaried places from £400 to £800, or pensions of £300 to £500. Thirty-five of the persons mentioned in the list being Members of Parliament, Mr. Ross did not consider it suitable for publication. “The “stench of this shameful record was too foul for the public “nostrils even in 1859, after two generations of men had “passed away,” observes Mr. Gladstone. The English ministers in London, thinking they had paid enough for the iniquity already, were disposed to repudiate any further liability on account of the Cornwallis-Castlereagh compacts in Dublin. Lord Castlereagh had not calculated upon this. Fearing exposure from such a breach of faith, he addressed his London “double” a very candid matter-of-fact reminder of the awk-

ward and too probable consequences likely to ensue, which that worthy official was to communicate to Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland without delay. The current coin of the realm was his *primum mobile*, as he termed it himself, in numerous cases, but here there was a delightful variety in the demands of the claimants, which there should be no such difficulty in squaring all round. What are peerages, pensions, places, &c., when contrasted with the "consideration" of the Union?—

"It will be no secret," Lord Castlereagh writes, "what has been promised, and by what means the Union has been secured. Disappointment will encourage, not prevent, disclosure; and the only effect of such a proceeding on their part will be to add the weight of their testimony to that of the anti-Unionists, in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished."

Mr. Charles Grey, the 2nd Earl Grey, the eminent statesman, in moving an Amendment to the first Resolution for Union in Parliament, in April 1800, showed that the Irish people were practically unanimous against it, and he urged a suspension of the proceedings until further means were taken to ascertain their opinion. "Though there were 707,000 who had signed petitions against the measure," he said, "the total number of those who declared themselves in favour of it did not exceed 3,000: and many of these only prayed that the measure might be discussed;" a statement which elicited no attempt to contradict it on the part of Mr. Pitt. On the 26th of June 1800 the Union Bill was read a second time by 117 to 73, but of that majority 72 were placemen; so that the measure was really supported by no more than 45 independent members against a minority of 73. To secure a majority Lord Townshend had dismissed from office a number of prominent and subordinate placemen; bought seven votes with peerages, and added £1,000 a year to the value of a sinecure for the sake of the vote of the holder, who filled the office of Prime Sergeant. He distributed additional pensions to the extent of £25,000 a year. One man waived his claim to a peerage for a pension of £1,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone calculates that the

Government had at their disposal in the years 1799-1801 some £300,000 in Secret Service money for disposal in Ireland, independently of other pecuniary means, and yet, like Oliver Twist, Lord Castlereagh, who was inaccessible to shame, was always asking for more. Lord Cornwallis, the "Old Morality" of the period, actually borrowed a considerable sum of an "Old Friend" to swell the flood of bribery and corruption, and is found anxiously pressing hard for the means of reimbursement in a letter dated the 9th of December 1800.

The entire story is, not redolent, but stinking of wholesale bribery and corruption. Yet this is not the worst of it. As Mr. Gladstone has expressed it, "the stain of blood is upon the policy; not on one member only, like Macbeth's upon the hand, but over the whole body of the scheme." The rebellion of 1798, with all the accumulated miseries it entailed, was, according to Mr. Lecky, "the direct and predicted consequence of the policy of Pitt" in this matter of the Union. Ireland was deliberately provoked into rebellion, as in 1641, and then overrun by an army, which its own gallant commander, Sir Ralph Abercromby, reported in a general order, dated the 26th of February 1798, "to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy." Indeed, neither the Government officials nor the Irish landlords showing any disposition to support his efforts in the cause of humanity, Sir Ralph resigned his command. After the rebellion, Lord Cornwallis himself, as Commander-in-Chief, issued a general order, dated the 31st of August 1798, calling on the officers to assist him "in putting a stop to the licentious conduct of the troops, and in saving the wretched inhabitants from being robbed, and in the most shocking manner ill-treated, by those to whom they had a right to look for safety and protection." The horrors of that period have been graven deep in the minds of the Irish people, young and old, though they are now fading from their memory into a blessed oblivion, through the exertions, in speech and writing, of Mr. Gladstone, and his most happy influence in awakening the masses of Great Britain to a sense of the restitution due to the sister kingdom.

The following is Mr. Gladstone's outline of the main charges against the course of action by which the Union was forwarded and carried referred to in the beginning of this chapter :—

“1. That by the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam the prevailing and still growing religious harmony of Ireland was broken up, the party or *clique* of Protestant ascendancy replaced in power, the good dispositions of the Irish Parliament arrested, and the balance of strength reversed by the transfer of the commanding British and Castle influence to the opposite scale.

“2. That, in order to sustain this altered policy, religious passions were let loose by the party of ascendancy. Orangeism, with an oath of allegiance conditional on the maintenance of such ascendancy, was founded to inflame those passions. The magistracy passed into a course of lawless oppression, and the party of the United Irishmen was driven into disaffection, and gradually taught to depend on foreign aid.

“3. That this lawlessness was sustained and aggravated by the action of the Parliament in indemnifying the guilty magistrates for past and prospective action, and by the Government in disarming the Roman Catholic population.

“4. That, through the continuance of this system, a true reign of terror was established, and a portion of a population, previously declared by Parliament to have been distinguished for its loyalty, was driven into rebellion, under circumstances going far to warrant the belief that the prevailing wickedness was favoured by the Government or its agents in order to promote a ferocious repression, to make the existing condition of the country intolerable, and to force the people, through despair, into the adoption of the Union.

“5. That, after the rebellion was put down, the system of intimidating the Irish nation was actively upheld by robbery, devastation, rape, torture, and murder, practised continually by the armed forces of the Government, together with the civil authorities; and by the general impunity of perpetrators of crime clothed with authority.

“6. That, while these measures were pursued out of doors, efforts of the Irish Parliament towards removing political difficulty, alleged in England as a reason for the Union, were stopped by the direct action of the British Power through its Executive in Ireland.

“7. That, apparently in preparation for the measure, the efforts of the British Government had been for years directed to the increase of its influence in Parliament by creating new paid offices, and by the further multiplication of salaried and dependent members.

“8. That the announcement by the British Government, after the Union had been rejected by the Irish Parliament, of its intention to reiterate the proposal again and again till it should be adopted was, especially when taken in connection with the state of the representation and with all the other means employed, a threat totally inconsistent with the exclusive right of that Parliament to make laws for the Irish nation.

“9. That no sufficient answer was made to the argument of high legal authorities, sustained by the general action of the Irish Bar, that the Irish Parliament, chosen to make laws by its own agency for Ireland, had no right and was not constitutionally competent to divest itself of that office and make it over to another body.

“10. That the opponents of the Union challenged an appeal to the constituencies upon the question by a dissolution, and that this challenge was persistently refused by the Government.

“11. That the profession of the British Ministry to appeal to a free and independent Ireland was totally belied by the prolonged suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, by the continuing existence of martial law, by its cruel enforcement, and by the maintenance of an armed force in the island exceeding at the lowest estimate 120,000 men.

“12. That, concurrently with the system of physical violence and tyranny another system was pursued of inveigling the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry into neutrality or support, by holding out to them that the principal persons in power, while they declined to promote their emancipation without a Union, would not, after a Union, serve the Crown on any other condition, and that the objection of danger to Protestant institutions would be removed by the measure.

“13. That in like manner the Roman Catholic bishops were encouraged to believe that they and their clergy would after a Union receive the countenance and direct support of the State.

“14. That while these expectations were held out, Mr. Pitt was perfectly aware of the King's objection to all such

“measures, not from policy alone but as involving him in perjury.

“15. That also, the Union, as was obvious, enormously diminished the influences of Irish opinion upon the Legislative Body, and correspondingly augmented the power of the party of ascendancy in the two countries to withhold concessions to the Roman Catholics.

“16. That Parliamentary intimidation and inducement by bribery and otherwise were practised upon a scale without example either before or after—by dismissal from office, by the purchase of boroughs at enormous cost, by the vast use of Secret Service money even from England, by the grant of pensions, offices, titles, commissions, and favours as well as disfavours from the Government in every form.

“17. That the practice of deterring opposition by dismissals, and attracting support by inducement and anticipated reward, even in their mildest forms, if not universally to be proscribed in cases where the action of the Government presumably represents the people or a national majority, is wholly inadmissible in cases where the Executive is essentially a foreign agency engaged in promoting a foreign, not an indigenous design, and therefore without any title to substitute in whole or in part its own views for those of the nation.

“18. That the voting on the Irish Union while the issue was still in doubt conclusively shows the independent and general sentiment of the country to have been against it.

“19. That the opposition of the country at the time, reasonably believed to have been testified not only by the voting of the House of Commons, but by the petitions of 700,000 Irishmen, was never invalidated or deprived of weight by subsequent change in the national opinion.

“20. That the accusations of foul play, in its worst as well as in its less revolting forms, against the methods and agencies which brought about the Union, are painfully sustained by the evidence before us of extensive destruction of documents and papers by the personages principally concerned, and of the means adopted by the British Government to prevent, at the cost of the State, compromising publications.”

It is hardly necessary to add that every one of these propositions of Mr. Gladstone is known to the student in Irish history to be capable of abundant, nay, overwhelming proof.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE PARNELL COMMISSION—A FORECAST.¹

LORD HERSCHELL, ex-Lord Chancellor of England, speaking in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Charges and Allegations Bill, August 10, 1888, said¹:—

“My Lords,—I will ask you to look for a moment at the origin of the measure. About a year ago there appeared in a newspaper a series of articles, the work of an anonymous writer having obtained his information we know not whence, with what justification for his statements we have no information. These articles contained no doubt charges against some Irish members mixed up with a vast number of vague general allegations and insinuations, out of which it is very difficult indeed to extract the particular charges which were intended to be made, and there were paragraphs containing statements of fact, but which have no meaning unless they are intended to convey some insinuation. That was its origin. Thereupon the position was taken up that a member of Parliament or any public man who had been thus accused by an anonymous writer in the press was to be deemed, in spite of his denial, guilty of the acts laid to his charge unless he brought an action to establish his innocence. It is a novel doctrine indeed. I had always understood it to be one of the maxims of our law that a man is to be deemed innocent until he is proved to be guilty—a maxim which has permeated the political and common life of this country, and one which I trust may long continue to be cherished. But now it is said, if only the charges are grave enough, and if there be scandal enough arising from them, though made by an anonymous writer in a newspaper, yet if connected with your political life, unless

¹ It should be understood that this is necessarily but a condensed report of Lord Herschell's important speech.

“they are disproved, any one has a right to deem them established. That is a doctrine which, if yielded to, would make public life in this country intolerable. Accusations against public men are not likely to diminish in proportion as newspaper competition increases; and if we are told that accusations are to be dealt with in this way, then it seems to me a precedent is being made which will be in the highest degree mischievous and terrible. But if this doctrine is accepted it ought at least to be impartially applied, whatever the political character of the newspaper. My lords, these were accusations made by a newspaper strongly supporting the Conservative Government against the opponents of that Government; but one has seen accusations made in a Radical newspaper against a Conservative member of Parliament, on what foundation I know not. He has brought no action. He has never disproved the charges, and yet two members of the Government have gone down to his constituents to countenance him and support him.

“Now, my Lords, there appeared in the *Times* last year a letter, and there were again before the jury the other day other letters, alleged to be written by Mr. Parnell, from which the inference was drawn that he was approving of murder or inciting to murder. It was natural that Mr. Parnell should ask, as he did, that a Parliamentary Committee might be appointed to inquire into those charges. Well, my Lords, the Government took time to consider what course they would take; and, having considered it, they made this offer to Mr. Parnell—that they would appoint a Commission, consisting mainly of judges, to inquire into the charges against members of Parliament; and the First Lord of the Treasury said, ‘If hon. gentlemen are prepared to accept the offer which has been made I am prepared to put on the notice paper a motion for leave to bring in a bill with reference to the judges;’ and on a later occasion he told Mr. Parnell that it was a matter for him to accept or to reject, at his pleasure. Now, if it was a matter concerning Mr. Parnell—I mean if it was to be an inquiry directed to those matters with which Mr. Parnell had personal association, to the question of his writing those letters, or of his personal association with crime, no doubt it would have been natural, and it seems to me would not have been improper, to allow him to accept or reject such an inquiry subject to this, that he was placed, I must say, in a very difficult position. He was told, ‘Ac-

“cept this before you know what the tribunal is to be—a
“tribunal which we, who are certainly not your warmest friends,
“are to constitute—accept it before you know what the refer-
“ence is to be, which is to be left to us to determine; or reject
“it, and then lay yourself open to the charge that you are un-
“willing to submit those matters for investigation.’ What
“next transpired? At that time the only reference to the
“nature of the measure was that it was to be a measure for
“an inquiry into the charges and allegations against mem-
“bers of Parliament. In some respects the scope was wide
“enough, but still there was a considerable limitation. It
“applied only to a few men. The measure was introduced,
“and it was found to be one to inquire into the charges and
“allegations which had been made against members of Parlia-
“ment ‘and other persons.’ When the first offer was made to
“Mr. Parnell, when he was told that he must either accept or
“reject it, there was no mention made of these ‘other persons.’
“I will show, in a moment, how serious a change that made in
“the scope and nature of the inquiry. It is an inquiry into
“the charges and allegations made in the Attorney-General’s
“speech against members of Parliament and other persons.
“What does this involve? It involves the action of every
“human being connected with the Land League or the National
“League in Ireland for the last nine years. They will all
“come within those compendious words ‘and other persons,’
“which are used in the first clause of the bill. Consider for
“a moment the position in which it places Mr. Parnell. If
“it had been understood at the outset that this Commission was
“to deal with a general reference of that sort, there might be
“something to be said for the bill; but when we consider the
“origin and nature of the bill, and the offer which the Govern-
“ment first made, which was at once to be accepted or rejected,
“I ask is there any one of us who would like an inquiry into
“definite, specific, and disgraceful charges against us to be
“mixed up with an inquiry as to the acts of everybody con-
“nected with political associations with which we have had
“to do?

“I am bound to say that, in my opinion, if that is the inquiry
“to be entered upon, the judges are the last persons to be called
“upon to undertake it. You are mixing up two very different
“things—inquiries into charges directly affecting individuals,
“and inquiries relating to outrages generally in Ireland. Would
“it not be at least as important to inquire how far these political

"organisations, these agrarian organisations, and these outrages
 "are the independent outcome of a social system which has
 "produced the same rank fruit in the shape of outrages before,
 "as to assume that because people connected with the Land
 "League or the National League have committed crime that
 "therefore the crime would not have been committed but for
 "the Land League or the National League? We know better.
 "We know that when you have political agitation and excite-
 "ment, men bent upon the commission of crime will fasten
 "themselves on to these organisations. It is impossible to
 "prevent or avoid it. When it was pointed out in the other
 "House that the accused members might be prejudiced by the
 "wide scope of the inquiry, then a different position altogether
 "was taken up by the Government. It was said in effect—
 "'Oh, if you refer to the charges against members, they are of
 "subordinate importance; they fall into the second rank.
 "The important matter, the thing first to be inquired into,
 "is the connection of the Land League and National League
 "with crime.' Now, when did that become the primary
 "object; when did it become clear that it was essential to the
 "public interest that there should be such an inquiry? It
 "never suggested itself during the long years from 1880 on-
 "wards, when those now in office were in opposition. They
 "have been two years in office, and it has never been suggested
 "until now. Did they think it to be necessary, had they made
 "up their minds it was essential in the public interest, when
 "they made the offer to Mr. Parnell that he should accept or
 "reject it? I say that if there ought to be such an inquiry
 "into the Land League and the National League and their
 "action, that inquiry should have taken place years ago.

"I pass on to deal with the constitution of the tribunal. My
 "lords, I should have thought that when a tribunal was to be
 "constituted for the trial of matters deeply involving the poli-
 "tical opponents of those who were constituting it, it would
 "have been well to have sought for at least one member of the
 "Commission whose bias and sympathies were rather with the
 "political views and aspirations of those whose interests were
 "so vitally at stake.¹ I would appeal to any of your lordships,
 "if your character was going to be inquired into in a case closely

¹ The one member of the Commission who was objected to in Parlia-
 ment was forced, if he did not force himself, upon the bench, notwith-
 standing a very decided public protest.

“connected with politics, would you not have the right to demand that some of those who were to carry on the inquiry should have some sympathy with your political views? I know it is said that these judges are non-political. If by that is meant men who have never taken any active part in politics, that is a matter of small importance. If by non-political judges you mean men who have never thought upon politics, who have no political sympathies, who have passed their lives indifferent to those political questions which deeply concern their fellow-men, I do not believe such judges exist. Some people seem to think that there are judges who live up in a balloon or in the air, who descend to take their seats on the bench in the morning and in the evening again disappear, who never enter a club or chat about the topics of the day with their fellows. I do not believe that such judges exist. I cannot help regretting that an effort was not made, before the names of those constituting the tribunal were made public, to ascertain whether any strong or decided objection was entertained to them or any one of them.

“One of the unfortunate incidents accompanying the passage of the bill was that the Attorney-General was called into consultation in connection with the proposals the Government were going to make to the House. He had acted as counsel for the *Times* newspaper. It was true he was legal adviser to the Crown, but it is difficult for the public mind to separate action in the one capacity from action in the other, and, therefore, I think noble lords will admit that it would have been better that the incident should not have taken place, for it was natural that suspicions should have been aroused by the fact that he was consulted. Then there was another unfortunate incident—I mean the interview between the First Lord of the Treasury and the proprietor of the *Times*, the defendant in the action, at which interview there was some conversation in reference to the bill. My lords, I think that was most unfortunate. Let noble lords think what they would have felt under like circumstances. If they were the persons concerned, would not they have had their suspicion excited, and would not they have used vigorous language? My lords, there was another—and I think still more unfortunate incident, because it was setting a precedent of a dangerous character. I mean the mode by which the Government brought the discussion to a close, by moving that the further consideration of the bill in committee should practically terminate at a par-

“ ticular hour. That has never been done before under such
 “ circumstances. There was much said about a similar method
 “ being applied to expedite the passing of the Crimes Act last
 “ year, but that measure was at least pronounced to be urgent.
 “ Here is a measure which no one could pretend was urgent, as
 “ regarded another day, or a week, or a fortnight's discussion.

“ There is only one other consideration to which I will allude.
 “ I cannot but fear that an inquiry such as this, bringing again
 “ to the front all the acts and violent passions of past years, is
 “ not likely to improve the state of feeling between England
 “ and Ireland. I have always looked forward with hope to the
 “ time when that feeling would become less bitter than it has
 “ been in the past. Let us conceive for a moment what will
 “ happen under this bill. You are, I suppose, to bring over
 “ from Ireland all the witnesses to be examined before this
 “ Commission, except the members of Parliament who are
 “ attending to their duties in the House. All the other wit-
 “ nesses are in Ireland. I do not suppose it is intended to
 “ send a tribunal of English judges into Ireland to examine
 “ witnesses. They may be brought here from the remote shores
 “ of Galway and the wilds of Donegal; they will be taken from
 “ their homes and examined before a tribunal on all kinds of
 “ subjects. It is true they may appear by counsel or solicitors,
 “ brought with them or engaged here; but is it possible to
 “ conceive anything more likely to create irritation and bitter
 “ feeling in Ireland than this? Multitudes of men may be
 “ taken for days and weeks together from their business, occu-
 “ pations, and friends, in order that the charges of which the
 “ Commission will take cognisance may be investigated. And
 “ they may not have the means to defend themselves.

“ For my part, I feel that some of your lordships will not be
 “ sorry when they see the consequences of this measure, that
 “ their names did not appear as supporters of it. So strong is
 “ my feeling in reference to this bill that, although I shall not
 “ ask the House to divide, I will at least say ‘ Not content,’ for
 “ I believe it to be a measure which is as dangerous as it is
 “ novel, and which may be fraught with consequences hereafter
 “ which we may all of us most deeply regret.”

Mr. Gladstone, speaking on the same subject at Hawarden, on the 20th of August 1888, said :—

“ I cannot undertake, gentlemen, to lay before you to-day all

“that is to be said upon the great subject between England and Ireland, nor even all that may be said and ought to be said in relation to the proceedings of the present majority in Parliament—a majority which I must say sits there upon false pretences, a majority which became a majority by promising the people of this country that though they objected to Home Rule they would give Ireland equal rights and would not subject her to coercion, instead of which they have subjected Ireland to coercion without any outburst of crime to justify it, and they have denied to Ireland equal rights by making actions to be crimes in Ireland which are no crimes in England. They have not the pretence of legislating against the crime; they have legislated against the lawful combinations of the people, and against those combinations which ought never to be resorted to except in circumstances of considerable and actual necessity, and which constituted the only weapon of power and effect by which the Irish people are able to set up a defence for their own dearest interests. I will only refer you to the latest instances of this sad and painful, and I will say—it is not too much to call it—this disgraceful course. For the disgrace that England suffers is that which I want to bring home to the minds of Englishmen. That which wounds and stings me, that which I find utterly intolerable, is to think of the shame of England in the face of the world through using the vast and enormous strength she possesses to practice oppression upon Irishmen. What are the latest exhibitions of the feeling that I deplore, and that, in my opinion is so dishonourable to a high-minded nation—which the English people undoubtedly are? One of the last you have heard about is a Commission, that is very famous, to inquire into a case that is arising between Mr. Parnell and the *Times*. The House of Commons was so fastidious that it would not trust its own members, according to constitutional usage, on the Select Committee to examine into this question. Although that was the petition made by Mr. Parnell and his friends, and although they, knowing quite well that a majority of the Committee must be hostile to them, yet accepted that position cheerfully, and made their suit to the House of Commons, the House of Commons refused it; but I do not think there is a doubt—I have never heard it denied—that had an English member been made the subject of similar accusations from the *Times*, and had he made such a request, there would not have been the smallest

“hesitation to grant it. A Commission of Judges has been appointed. About it much has been said, and much, perhaps, may have to be said hereafter; but I will say nothing at the present moment of the Commission itself, because there are going to be proceedings before it which we must hope will be judicial in their character.

“Now, let us see how they use Mr. Parnell. Mr. Parnell is a man who lies at present under an accusation of the gravest character—namely, of having been the author of certain letters, which letters, if they were written by him, disqualify him for receiving the respect of any honest man, and which, should it be found that he is their author, will inevitably destroy all that is valuable to him in the world—namely, his political power and position. He is going to be tried upon vague and general charges, it may be, besides these letters, but the letters it is admitted by the most impartial men, even among the Tories, constitute the main issue that has to be tried, and we must hope that the Commission of Judges that has been appointed will examine to the bottom and at once into the case of these letters.¹ Now, what is essential in the administration of justice is that the two parties should stand upon an equal footing. I am going to test the proceedings of the Government and of the majority by reference to the equality or the inequality of the footing upon which Mr. Parnell stands, as compared with that on which the *Times* stands, so as to help you in judging of the manner in which Mr. Parnell has been used. I myself have, years ago—that is to say, six years ago—believed that Mr. Parnell was engaged in injurious, dangerous, and even ruinous political schemes, but I never charged Mr. Parnell with personal dishonour. I never saw the smallest ground for charging him with such a thing. As to ruinous political schemes, for the last thirty or forty years what have the Tories themselves been engaged in? That is not a reason for taking away the character of a man. Mr. Parnell is entitled to an equality of footing. Let us see if he is to enjoy that equality. He is called upon to go before the Commission. This Commission is to inquire into all the proceedings connected with the charges of disorder and crime in Ireland since the time when

¹ But unfortunately this is just the very thing which the judges have not attempted to do, contrary to public expectation.

“the Land League was established in that country—that is to say, the year 1879. It is properly observed that those inquiries may extend over years. At any point of these inquiries allegations and charges may be raised against Mr. Parnell. How is he to defend himself? He is to defend himself by counsel. The most eminent counsel in the country will be employed against him. If he is to have fair play he must have men of the same rank to defend him. Lord Herschell, in an admirable speech in the House of Lords, to which no Tory law lord could be found to offer a reply, and no Dissident Liberal law lord meddled in the matter, and it was left entirely to the two Lord Chancellors of England and Ireland without a single independent legal support to back them—Lord Herschell has properly observed that this employment of eminent counsel is an expensive luxury. They cannot and ought not to work without first-rate solicitors, and the employment of eminent counsel and first-rate solicitors in an inquiry extending over a field no man knows how wide and reaching, over a time no man knows how prolonged.

“What does it mean to Mr. Parnell? Mr. Parnell has announced himself in the House of Commons—he is what is called a poor man, a man of independent but of moderate means—that it means to him comparative ruin; but in the debate on the second reading of this bill, a gentleman, whose name I will not mention, but whom I will describe in parliamentary language as the member for West Birmingham, made a very clever speech, and he said that the plea had been raised on the part of Mr. Parnell that the expense of this inquiry would be ruinous. He thought there was great force in that. He thought the Government ought to attend to it, and to make some provision accordingly; but the Government paid no attention whatever to that recommendation of the member for West Birmingham, and the member for West Birmingham himself, although he put it in his speech, was too modest to move any amendment for the purpose of promoting any provision of that kind, or in fact to take any other measure except the benevolent words which he uttered, and which remained without effect. Their full importance is seen when it is considered that they will seek the utter ruin, in a pecuniary sense, of Mr. Parnell. The *Times* represents a mass of enormous wealth. Of that there is no doubt. No one knows the exact extent of that immense fortune. Upon that fortune,

“if we consider it as a result of wonderful industry and economical skill, we may look with respect. I am not saying now what I may perhaps have to say by and by. It is no fault of the *Times* that it represents an enormous fortune, but no doubt the *Times* intends to report this trial, and the sales of its reports are likely to do more than reimburse all the costs; and even if they did not, to the *Times* the expenses would be what is called a fleabite, while to the other party it is ruin. There, gentlemen, is a correct idea of the equality which the majority in Parliament wish to see established between those parties, and of what the Solicitor-General actually called the generosity of Parliament in its present conduct to Mr. Parnell and the Irish members. Very well, what is the issue likely to be if Mr. Parnell is found to be the author of these letters? He will be covered with everlasting shame, and not only covered with shame, but all his power and influence, all his political career, everything for which as a public man he lives, will be utterly gone and destroyed. Yes, that is to say if he is found to be the author of these letters; but if he is not the author of these letters, if those letters are found to be forged letters—and I must say that the language of the *Times* within the last few weeks gives rise to the strongest suspicion that they know that they are forged letters—what will be the position of the *Times* in the Court? There will not be perfect equality because, while Mr. Parnell is liable to be punished in the shape of loss of his good name, upon which he wholly depends, the *Times* does not depend upon its good name. The *Times* is not read for the morality that it preaches or for the honourable principles upon which it is conducted. It is read for its admirable parliamentary reports; it is read for the letters of eminent persons that are sent to it; it is read on account of its general power and influence. But if the *Times* is convicted of the fraud, I doubt whether it will lose a hundred subscribers.

“The Government and the majority have provided that there shall be no actions at law or any damages arising out of the matters produced before the Commission, so that before the Commission, if Mr. Parnell is found guilty of the letters, he will be a ruined man both in purse and in character, and in the whole of his future life. The *Times*, by an express clause in the bill, is protected from any action at law, and assured from paying one farthing. That is the sort of fair play and the sort of justice which a Tory Government and a Tory

“minority, swelled into a majority by Dissident Liberals—
“and the House of Lords at their back—have thought fit to
“administer to the representatives of Ireland as a worthy crown
“to all those dark centuries of English oppression and of Irish
“suffering which, unfortunately, the historian has had to
“record.”

Since the foregoing speeches of Lord Herschell and Mr. Gladstone were delivered, the Commissioners have practically retired to consider their decision and report. In the meanwhile the public have long since arrived at a very just decision of their own in the matter. It is felt that there has been, from first to last, an extravagant and unnecessary waste of time and money, owing to the manner in which the proceedings have been conducted throughout. The character of Pigott was all along known to those engaged in the prosecution and defence, if one may speak without legal exactness. How comes it that a fact so notorious inside and outside their court was so carefully concealed from the three judges alone? Again, every intelligent person in the three kingdoms believed that the chief if not the only point of importance in the inquiry was to ascertain the genuineness or spuriousness of the Letters. Yet this is just the very point of all others which the Commissioners refrained from pressing for investigation till the latest possible moment. Mr. Justice Day, whose face was as impenetrable as that of the Sphinx till Pigott appeared in the box, afterwards suddenly gave way to uncontrollable fits of laughter, in course of which he is described as having all but tumbled off the bench. It was no laughing matter; unless, indeed, the worthy judge knew the true character of the contents of the black box beforehand, and laughed at the credulity of those of his political friends who were not admitted to the secret. Finally, what the public are now interested to know is—the forgeries against Mr. Parnell having been detected and avowed—why the confederates of the great Smith Ministry who suborned the forger should be screened from punishment, or even pursuit, by the judges. As the matter stands, the Government, not Mr. Parnell, is henceforth on its trial.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS AND SPEECHES.

GRIFFITH'S VALUATION—WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

A COMMON saying of the friends of the Irish landlords, in and out of Parliament, is that Sir Richard Griffith (who was invited by Mr. Goulbourn, Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1826, to assist in preparing a bill for a general valuation of that kingdom) expressly stated that his subsequent valuation was uniformly twenty-five per cent. under the letting value of the land. Now this is so very inaccurate a statement as to be entirely misleading. In 1844 Sir R. Griffith prepared a Memorandum of the outline of the system he adopted, from which the quotation that follows is an extract. It will be seen that Griffith's valuation is, he says, very near that of many of the principal landed proprietors of the country, in accordance with his general instructions to the valuers acting under him; though about twenty-five per cent. under what may be called the rack-rents of the smaller proprietors. Yet the Land Commissioners appointed by Parliament to revise the rents in 1881 usually struck an average between Griffith's valuation and the "full or "high rent," *i.e.*, the rack-rent of the smaller proprietor; rarely going below the former. They were, in fact, for years insisting upon more than the rent required by the principal landed proprietors of the country, at a time when English landed proprietors were voluntarily and out of their own good-will making huge reductions in their rent-rolls, amounting to thirty and, in some instances, even fifty per cent. Lord Salisbury himself, who, whatever his other demerits, cannot afford to be a bad landlord, is reported to have made considerable reductions of the kind, though he is pleased to describe the Irish farmers as

connivers at robbery when they decline to pay excessive or rack rents in these days of severest depression :—

“The general instructions given by me to the valuers were,” Sir Richard Griffith observes, “that they should value the land “on a liberal scale; that is to say, in the same manner as if “employed by one of the principal landlords of the country, “who was about to let the lands to solvent tenants, on leases, “say of twenty-one years. . . . In regard to the difference between the valuations of land adopted by me under the Act “[a statute regarding the basis of assessments] and the actual “letting value, I have to observe that our valuation is generally “about twenty-five per cent. under the full or high rent [rack-rent] value, but very near that of many of the principal “landed proprietors of the country. Thus in the parish of “Aghanloo, county of Derry, the valuation of the town-lands, “as contained in the printed schedule, rarely differed as much “as one shilling in the pound from the proprietors’ rental. “The same fact was observed respecting the rental of the “different London companies, as well as of other proprietors “in the county of Derry, while the full rents [rack-rents] under “ordinary small proprietors were usually thirty-three per cent. “above the amounts given in the printed schedule. Similar “facts were observable in other counties; and I have lately “noticed several remarkable coincidences of the same kind in “the counties of Tyrone, Cavan, Monaghan, &c., so that it “would appear that the scale of value adopted by me, under the “Act, is nearly that of the great landed proprietors of Ireland, “but considerably below the ordinary rents [rack-rents].”

THE IRISH MEMBERS AND MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

No objection was ever taken to the importation of American money into Ireland so long as the earnings of the exiled Irish went into the pockets of the Irish landlords in the shape of rack-rents. But the moment the American Irish took it into their heads to export it only for the more practical purpose of overthrowing the entire agrarian system in that country, where the land itself does not pay the rent, either through insufficiency of acreage or inferiority of soil, we are at once deluged with denunciations of the base and tainted coin. In every

country in the civilised world, including our own colonies, members of Parliament are paid for their legislative services, except in Italy and England. Even in England they were formerly paid, and a resolution in favour of introducing the system here again obtained considerable support in the House of Commons twice during the present session of Parliament, including a speech from Mr. John Morley. On the second occasion, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Fenwick called attention to the question of payment of members. After reminding the House that the resolution moved by him on a former occasion on this subject was only lost by a majority of fifty-seven votes in a House of 380 members, he went on to say, that since then he had obtained a return from the Government which showed that at present there were 101 members in receipt of public money for political services. Of that number, twenty-two were in receipt of sums under £20; sixteen of sums from £20 to £100; nineteen of sums from £100 to £500; and forty-four of from £500 to £1,000. Another return revealed the fact that in the House of Lords there were twenty-seven members in receipt of sums under £20; twenty-one of from £20 to £100; twenty-three of from £100 to £500; and eighty of from £500 to £5,000. In other words, 252 members in both Houses of Parliament were receiving in the aggregate a sum of £814,081. Of those who voted in the majority against his resolution, fifty-eight were receiving public money in the aggregate to the extent of £84,368, or on an average £1,454 each; who, if they had abstained from voting, would have left Mr. Fenwick a clear majority. But the Irish members have suffered unheard-of abuse because some of them, who neglect their private interests for the sake of their country, are believed to have accepted *from their own countrymen*, whether in Ireland, America, or elsewhere, this modest tribute to their single-mindedness of purpose and remarkable devotion to their Parliamentary duties. How very unjust and unreasonable and wilfully blind some amongst us are, to be sure!

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, indulging in this abuse a little while back, made use of a very opprobrious epithet in reference

to the Irish members. It was coarse beyond all precedent, and scarcely admits of reproduction from a newspaper report. This antithesis of a gentleman described them as a "kept party." Hitherto nobody appears to have pointed out the special malignity of the phrase coming from Mr. Chamberlain, who, in his Preface to the *Radical Programme* (1885), earnestly commends to "my fellow Radicals" the propriety of restoring the former English custom of paying members of Parliament! Under the head of "Machinery" for working out the Programme, great pains are taken to explain his particular views on the subject and dissociate him from alleged erroneous opinions ascribed to him by the *Tory Quarterly Review*. Mr. Chamberlain's view is that their parliamentary representatives should be paid by the constituents, as is done at the present time in the case of some of the Irish members. His speech referred to was therefore not the outcome of strong political convictions, but rather a gratuitous and deliberate insult levelled at the Irish members, unless he has apostatised on this point, as he has done on so many other points in the *Radical Programme*. The grandfather of the present Duke of Marlborough, Pepys (1668), Lord-Chancellor Nottingham, Thomas King (1661), Lord Campbell, &c., are all trotted out to vindicate Mr. Chamberlain's moderation in proposing a measure of the kind. Nay, it is suggested that the old writ of 1681, *de expensis burgensium levandi*, might still be claimed without any new enactment to revive the usage! Here are the conclusions of the *Radical Programme*, which Mr. Chamberlain commends to "my fellow Radicals":—

"When it is said that payment of the people's representatives "would vulgarise the people's House and would deteriorate its "social qualities, one is tempted to ask whether such experience "as might be cited on the point justifies the apprehension. For "instance, would a comparison between the social demeanour of "Earl Percy and Viscount Folkestone on the one hand, and of "Mr. Burt and Mr. Broadhurst on the other, in the discharge "of their parliamentary duties, be to the advantage of the "former? If it is asserted that the scheme would make the "assembly less of an ornamental lounge than it now is, and "would bring into it, on an increased scale, an order of repre-

"sentatives who would take a view of their functions very
 "different from that taken by their superiors, the impeachment
 "may be readily admitted, and it may be replied that this is
 "exactly what is wanted. The men who would be sent to St.
 "Stephen's would be men whom the majority of the constitu-
 "encies trusted, and who came there to do the people's work.
 "Their presence would have the effect of liberalising and brac-
 "ing the assembly. They would, in a word, be the sort of
 "legislators from whom measures that would secure the steady
 "assertion of the popular influence in all matters of govern-
 "ment would be forthcoming. Again, when it is affirmed that
 "the plan would give us more professional politicians than we
 "now have, the remark which suggests itself is, that this is
 "exactly what is required. Politics, as a matter of fact, are a
 "profession already, and if lawyers, doctors, and professional
 "men generally are paid, why not politicians? Moreover, when
 "it was once understood that business aptitudes were required
 "in those who addressed themselves to the business of public
 "affairs, an effectual protest would be made against the habit
 "of sending to the House of Commons men who regarded
 "politics as a pastime; who, whether they are Liberals or
 "Conservatives, are equally *dilettanti*, and who illustrate in the
 "Legislature the indolence and languor of polite society."

Any one who has travelled in Ireland must know how
 thoroughly the people have given their confidence to their
 parliamentary representatives, and how cheerfully they sub-
 scribe to the subsidy fund to recoup them for the expenses
 incurred by their attendance at Westminster. There is only
 one point upon which the constituencies find fault with their
 members. They cannot understand, and indeed it is difficult
 to understand, why, when Lord Salisbury, Mr. Chamberlain,
 and others use *inexcusably* insulting language regarding them,
 they do not take upon themselves to have recourse to the old-
 fashioned ways of other days for resenting the injury. There
 are some things which ought not to be said on the public plat-
 form; but if said, it should not be with impunity. And Mr.
 Chamberlain's vile figure of speech was certainly one of them.
 Even Sydney Smith, though a clergyman, showed some im-
 patience of the meekness exhibited by Irish representative men

in the days of "Percevalism and contempt." Lord Melbourne could not comprehend it in the case of the Irish peasant, as may be seen elsewhere. And now we find that one of the most highly cultivated of English journals, the *Pall Mall Gazette* (23rd of May 1889), "cannot refrain from marvelling at the astonishing "forbearance of these representative men" of the present day, who, "if they had been Englishmen or Americans, it would "have been far otherwise." If Mr. Coningsby Disraeli, for instance, were convinced that he ran some risk of having the *cane* applied to his shoulders on account of his disgraceful language at Bath lately, it would have had a wonderful moderating influence on this latest aspirant to notoriety through vituperation. This is the only point upon which there is the slightest divergence of opinion either in Great Britain or Ireland as regards the personal and political character of the Irish members, and it is one easily remedied.

OUR SYMPATHY HAS BEEN RESERVED FOR THE FOREIGNER.

There are in the *Political Writings* (1835) of Richard Cobden some observations, undeniably true, in regard to the insane policy of neglected opportunities pursued towards Ireland, generation after generation, by the governing kingdom, which are well deserving of reflection :—

"How shall we be able to account for the fact that commerce and civilisation, which have from the earliest ages journeyed westward, and in their course have even stayed to enrich the marshes of the Adriatic and the fens of Holland, should have passed over in their flight to the New World—a spot more calculated by nature than almost any other besides to be the seat of a great internal and external trade? We do not profess to be able to disclose all the precise causes of the depressed state of Ireland; still less do we pretend to offer a panacea for all the ills that afflict her. Our object in introducing the subject here is to show the absurdity and injustice of that policy which leads us to seek amongst other nations for objects of compassion and care, and to neglect the urgent demands that are made upon us at our very door. . . .

"We lavish our sympathies upon the serfs of Poland, and
 "the slaves of Turkey; but who would not prefer to be one of
 "these, to the perishing with hunger under the name of free-
 "man? . . . Add to this, that our efforts have been directed
 "towards the assistance of States for whose welfare we are not
 "responsible; whilst our oppression and neglect have fallen
 "upon a people over whom we are endowed with the power
 "and accountable privileges of Government—and the extent
 "of the injustice of our statesmen becomes fully disclosed.
 "Whilst within the last twenty years our sympathies have
 "gone forth over the whole of Europe in quest of nations
 "suffering from, or rising up against the injustice of their rulers;
 "whilst Italy, Greece, Spain, France, Portugal, Turkey, Bel-
 "gium, and Poland, have successively filled the newspapers
 "with tales of their domestic wrongs; and whilst our diplo-
 "matists, fleets, and armies have been put in motion at enor-
 "mous cost, to carry our counsel, or, if needful, our arms, to the
 "assistance of the people of these remote regions; it is an un-
 "questionable fact, that the population of a great portion of
 "our own empire has, at the same time, presented a grosser
 "spectacle of moral and physical debasement than is to be met
 "with in the whole civilised world. However much the con-
 "duct of England towards the sister island . . . may have
 "been dwelt upon for party purposes, it is so bad as scarcely to
 "admit of exaggeration."

A GOVERNMENT NOT OF LOVE BUT OF FEAR.

Lord Macaulay, then Mr. Macaulay, speaking in the House of
 Commons, on the 19th of February 1844, of the supreme import-
 ance of Ireland to England, uttered the following weighty indict-
 ment against British rule in Ireland, which is as applicable to
 the circumstances of 1889, as it was forty-five years ago:—

"Ireland, in extent about one-fourth of the United King-
 "dom, in population certainly more than one-fourth; superior,
 "probably, in internal fruitfulness to any area of equal size in
 "Europe; possessed of a position which holds out the greatest
 "facilities for commerce, at least equal to any other country of
 "the same extent in the world; an inexhaustible nursery of
 "the finest soldiers; a country beyond all doubt of far higher
 "consequence to the prosperity and greatness of this empire

"than all its far distant dependencies, were they multiplied four of five times over; superior to Canada added to the West Indies, and these both conjoined with our possessions at the Cape and in Australasia, and with all the wide dominions of the Moguls—such is the state to which you have reduced it, that it is a source not of confidence and strength, but of alarm and weakness. How do you govern it? Not by love, but by fear; not as you govern Great Britain, but as you govern the recently conquered Scinde; not by the confidence of the people in the laws and their attachment to the constitution, but by means of armed men and entrenched camps. . . . The misgovernment of Ireland has been constant, uninterrupted, from the reign of Henry II. to that of William IV."

"THE WORST GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD."

The Duke of Westminster is not a statesman, or even an eminent politician, though he is distinguished on account of his wealth. Speaking as chairman of a public meeting held at St. James's Hall on the 8th of December 1876, for the purpose of conferring on the Bulgarian question, he said:—

"I remember a distinguished statesman remarking some years ago that there was only one government in Europe worse than that of Turkey, and that that government was the temporal government of the Pope. Happily for some of the fairest provinces of Italy that temporal power has passed away, and we may now hope and believe that the worst government remaining in Europe is that of Constantinople."

Now this is just the foolish talk in which so many worthy people, oblivious of English government in Ireland, are prone to indulge, with self-satisfaction and national vanity combined. It was to denounce such stupid waste of sympathy and indignation for the foreign oppressed and the oppressor that Richard Cobden wrote the passage just quoted. At the same meeting Mr. Gladstone made some remarkable observations about Ireland, which will be found at page 195, and might have reminded the Duke that he ought to reserve his rhetoric for something infinitely worse than either Roman or Turkish misgovernment, which was close

to his own doors. Sir William Harcourt, than whom no statesman, except perhaps Lord Spencer, has so faithfully seconded Mr. Gladstone's efforts to bring about a reconciliation between England and Ireland, has more recently told us, manfully and patriotically, which is really "the worst government in Europe." Speaking in the House of Commons on the 11th of February 1887, that right honourable gentleman said:—

"In judging of a system of government, we know no test by which to distinguish good government from bad, except this—that good government is government which is conducted and founded upon the assent and consent of the government. If a government is alien to the sympathies, the wishes, and the wants of a people, that government breeds discontent, and of that discontent there is inevitably born illegal conduct and illegitimate proceedings. These are truths which are taught to us by experience, and are to be found on every page of history. Well, sir, tried by this test, I am going to say a strong thing, but I say a thing of which I am deeply convinced, that, at this moment, the government of Ireland by England is the worst government in the world."

Sir William has undoubtedly said a strong thing; but he might have spoken even more strongly had he dwelt upon the fruits of our misgovernment in Ireland. Carlyle, in speaking of the French Revolution, and contrasting it with other and greater horrors that have existed and exist still as foul blots, disfiguring the divine creation, refers to them:—

"But what if history," he writes, "somewhere on this planet were to hear of a nation, the third soul of whom had not for thirty weeks each year as many third-rate seed potatoes as would sustain them? . . . History in that case feels bound to consider that starvation is starvation; and that starvation from age to age presupposes much. History ventures to assert that the French *sansculotte* of Ninety-three, who, roused from long death-sleep, could rush at once to the frontiers and die fighting for an immortal hope and faith of deliverance for him, was but the second miserablest of men. The Irish *sans-potato*, had he not senses then? Nay, a soul? In his frozen darkness it was bitter for him to die famishing, bitter to see his children famish."

HOW "LOYALTY" HAS BEEN SECURED IN ULSTER.

When Lord Castlereagh corrupted the Irish Parliament and the lawyers to enable him to carry the Union in 1800, he did not even spare the press with liberal doles of the current coin of the realm. Writing officially from Dublin to Wickham, in London, on the 2nd of January 1799, he said :—

"We cannot give that activity to the press which is requisite ; already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain. I know the difficulties, and shall respect them as much as possible in the extent of our expenditure ; but notwithstanding every difficulty, I cannot help most earnestly requesting to receive £5,000 in bank notes by the first messenger."

Castlereagh also attacked the honour and independence of the Irish Presbyterian ministers. Charles II. had apportioned £600 a year to be distributed amongst them from the Secret Service fund, which William III. increased to double the amount. George I. still further increased the allowance. In 1784 it reached £2,200, and in 1792 £5,000 a year. Throughout the disturbances which preceded the Union the Presbyterian ministers kept secret communications with Lord Castlereagh, and when it was carried, in 1800, they, through him, solicited the reward of their treachery. The rank and file of the Irish Presbyterian body were deeply attached to their native country, and even some of the ministers were ready to engage in rebellious projects for her deliverance from the thralldom of the "dead hand." But the Presbyterian ministers generally had partaken of the sweets of an ever-increasing corruption, and Castlereagh, knowing their weakness, determined that the Government should in future have something in return. In 1802 he addressed a long, confidential letter on the subject to Mr. Addington, the Premier of the day, urging the claims of "our Union friends," as he styled them, within certain well-defined limits. The Regium Donum, or King's gift, had until then

been handed to the Presbyterian Synod for distribution at their discretion. It was now thought that the money was distributed with too little regard for individuals who had proved themselves staunch friends of the Government. Castlereagh took occasion to propose a more effective system of corruption for the future as follows, to show, he said :—

“How much may be done by an efficient protection and support given on the part of Government to those who have committed themselves in support of the State against a democratic party in the Synod, several of whom, if not engaged in the rebellion [of 1798], were deeply infected with its principles. Such a body as the Presbyterians of Ireland, though consequently a branch of the Church of Scotland, have parted deeply, first of the popular, and since of the democratic politics of the country, so as to be an object much more of jealousy than of support to the Government. You will therefore infer that my opinion still continues strongly in favour of coupling regulation with the proposed increase of the Regium Donum. The distribution and government of the fund is a natural engine of authority. It has hitherto been exclusively in the Synod. To render it still more subservient to democracy, an attempt has lately been made to introduce the authority of the lay elders into its management. . . . Let it be an annual grant by the State to individuals by name, and not from the body of its members. That upon the appointment of a minister proper certificates of his character, &c., should be laid before the Lord Lieutenant, praying that his majesty’s accustomed bounty may be granted to him. The above requires that he shall not be entitled, as of right, to derive a provision from the State without furnishing Government with satisfactory testimonials of his being a loyal subject. Though many bad men might find their way into the body, yet the impression that Government might withdraw the provision would in time have a material influence on their conduct. This, together with the income itself, making them less dependent on their congregations for subsistence, are the only means which suggest themselves to my mind for making this important class of dissenters better subjects than they have of late years proved themselves.”

Thenceforward the Regium Donum was openly distributed as an “engine of authority”—meaning an engine of corruption—

until it reached a sum of £40,000 a year. It was abolished on the occasion of the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church, but every minister then in receipt of it was secured by special provisions of the most liberal character. Liberal, however, as such provisions were, the younger Presbyterian ministers who have since succeeded to office, have not quite forgiven Mr. Gladstone for not extending, in some way or other, the principle of endowment to them also. And though the entire body, lay and clerical, have profited largely by his agrarian legislation, they are now, with some honourable exceptions, proving themselves from day to day as ungrateful to the English Liberal party, their generous benefactors, as the Jews. As to the services of the Irish members generally in pressing forward agrarian legislation in 1880, the "despicable and miserable minority," as Lord John Russell once contemptuously styled them, are so devoured with sectarian malice as to be incapable of recognising their benefactors. How different are they from their co-religionists in Scotland!

THE HOUSE OF IRISH LANDLORDS.

No one can form a just idea of the condition of things in Ireland, who leaves out of account the fact that the country is governed exclusively in the landlord interest. This depends for support upon the House of Lords, where the combined interests of the two peerages, British and Irish, are essentially and determinedly hostile to Ireland. Mr. J. Seymour Keay, M.P. for Moray and Nairn, contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in August 1887, the following article in reference to the Irish landlords, which is of considerable interest at the present time:—

"It was rumoured," observes Mr. Keay, "that Mr. Gladstone would take an early opportunity of replying to the speech made on the 5th inst. by Mr. John Bright, in his capacity as chairman at the Liberal Unionist dinner to Lord Hartington. As Mr. Gladstone has not yet spoken, perhaps I may be permitted to draw attention to a very misleading statement in that speech as to the alleged impartiality of the House of Lords in the Irish Home Rule controversy. Mr. Bright said

"that when we find the House of Lords in a majority of ten
 "to one against us it behoves every man of us to consider
 "how far he is right; for, said he, 'when you come to this
 "question, a Peer has no more interest in the Union than I
 "have who am not a Peer, or anybody you may meet in the
 "streets of London.' Upon this assertion I took the trouble
 "to look carefully through the return ordered by the House
 "of Commons to be printed on August 10, 1876, of owners of
 "land in Ireland. The result of my investigation shows that,
 "so far from being an uninterested tribunal, no more flagrant
 "instance of a set of men being judges in their own cause was
 "ever known. Taking into consideration only holdings above
 "2,000 acres in extent, I find that 121 members of the House
 "of Lords own land in Ireland, which is valued, according to
 "the Poor-Law valuation, at £1,842,631 per annum. These
 "121 include nearly the whole of the Irish representative Peers,
 "and a considerable proportion of the real effective working
 "body of the House of Lords. In addition to these there are
 "seventy-one Irish Peers and other titled persons connected by
 "blood, marriage, or the ties and traditions of their order, with
 "the House of Lords, who own land in Ireland valued at
 "£404,109 per annum. These facts are utterly unknown to
 "the great mass of both Liberal and Tory electors. When
 "Lord Inchiquin asked the Government, as he did a short time
 "since from his place in the House of Lords, 'to maintain law
 "and order at all hazards,' was he not, in effect, asking for the
 "maintenance of unjust land laws which secured him a rent-
 "roll of £11,077 per annum? And what interpretation are
 "we to put on the indecent utterance of Lord Rossmore when
 "he suggested that Mr. Gladstone 'ought to be done away
 "with, before he infects any more ignorant people with the
 "snapping and snarling of his Home Rule rabies,' except that
 "he fears that the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin
 "would materially reduce his rent-roll, which is valued at
 "£14,913 per annum? The leader of the Liberal Unionist
 "party is Lord Hartington. Can he be said to be a perfectly
 "unbiased and disinterested person while his father holds land
 "in Ireland worth, according to the Poor-Law valuation,
 "£31,694 per annum? [Which his ancestors originally ob-
 "tained by fraud of Sir Walter Raleigh.] I append the full
 "particulars. These names and figures are, I think, of great
 "importance, as they will enable the electors to judge, in future
 "stages of the Home Rule controversy, how far the speech and

"vote of noble lords is guided by their pecuniary interests in
"maintaining the present system of Irish misgovernment:"—

*Poor-Law Valuation of Lands in Ireland owned by 121
Members of the House of Lords.*

Abercorn, Duke of . . .	£36,863	Downshire, Marquis . . .	£91,077
Albemarle, Earl of . . .	1,131	Drogheda, Marquis . . .	12,977
Annaly, Lord . . .	24,613	Dufferin, Earl of . . .	20,282
Annesley, Lord . . .	22,359	Dunraven, Earl of . . .	10,508
Athlumney, Lord . . .	10,687	Dunsandle, Lord . . .	10,439
Arran, Earl of . . .	9,279	Dunsany, Lord . . .	4,873
Bandon, Earl of . . .	20,438	Egmont, Earl of . . .	11,720
Bangor, Viscount . . .	11,813	Ely, Marquis of . . .	22,556
Bath, Marquis of . . .	18,182	Enniskillen, Earl of . . .	13,883
Belmore, Earl of . . .	11,450	Erne, Earl of . . .	23,867
Bessborough, Earl of . . .	22,649	Essex, Earl of . . .	8,068
Caledon, Earl of . . .	18,948	Fingall, Earl . . .	10,376
Carew, Lord . . .	10,913	Fitzwilliam, Earl . . .	46,955
Carlingford, Lord . . .	588	Fortescue, Earl . . .	2,986
Castlemaine, Lord . . .	6,435	Gormanston, Viscount . . .	9,450
Castletown, Lord . . .	14,000	Gosford, Earl of . . .	17,931
Carysfort, Earl of . . .	14,940	Granard, Earl . . .	26,811
Charlemont, Lord . . .	25,005	Greville, Lord . . .	13,762
Clancarty, Earl . . .	10,426	Hawarden, Viscount . . .	9,992
Clanricarde, Marquis of . . .	18,472	Headfort, Marquis . . .	15,584
Clanwilliam, Earl . . .	8,277	Headley, Lord . . .	3,268
Clermont, Lord . . .	15,525	Hertford, Marquis of . . .	75,679
Clifden, Viscount . . .	21,622	Howth, Earl of . . .	11,927
Clonbrock, Lord . . .	11,565	Huntingdon, Earl of . . .	3,191
Cloncurry, Lord . . .	5,099	Inchiquin, Lord . . .	11,077
Clonmell, Earl of . . .	15,169	Kenmare, Earl of . . .	26,951
Congletown, Lord . . .	2,721	Kilmorey, Earl of . . .	25,184
Conyngham, Marquis . . .	33,336	Lanesborough, Earl . . .	9,817
Cork and Orrery, Earl . . .	12,442	Langford, Lord . . .	14,642
Courtown, Earl of . . .	11,820	Lansdowne, Marquis of . . .	30,941
Crofton, Lord . . .	6,634	Leconfield, Lord . . .	20,889
Darnley, Earl . . .	18,441	Leinster, Duke of . . .	48,841
Dartrey, Earl of . . .	19,516	Leitrim, Lord . . .	19,039
Derby, ¹ Earl of . . .	6,542	Lifford, Viscount . . .	1,164
De Freyne, Lord . . .	14,207	Limerick, Earl . . .	2,980
De Ros, Lord . . .	4,375	Lismore, Viscount . . .	17,780
De Vesci, Viscount . . .	8,120	Listowel, Earl of . . .	11,131
Deneraille, Viscount . . .	12,821	Londonderry, Marquis of . . .	33,145
Devon, Earl of . . .	12,674	Longford, Earl of . . .	11,114
Devonshire, Duke of . . .	31,604	Lurgan, Lord . . .	19,906
Digby, Lord . . .	13,409	Manchester, Duke of . . .	15,091
Donegal, Marquis of . . .	36,270	Massereene, Viscount . . .	17,716
Donoughmore, Earl . . .	11,432	Massy, Lord . . .	4,033
Dorchester, Lord . . .	722	Meath, Earl of . . .	6,533

¹ An absentee's rental since sold out.

Middleton, Viscount . . .	£7,329	Sandwich, Earl of . . .	£1,622
Milltown, Earl of . . .	5,029	Seaton, Lord . . .	2,814
Monck, Viscount . . .	9,025	Shannon, Earl of . . .	9,321
Monteagle, Lord . . .	4,479	Sheffield, Earl of . . .	1,104
Normanton, Earl of . . .	9,244	Sligo, Marquis of . . .	20,497
O'Neil, Lord . . .	45,308	Stanhope, Earl of . . .	2,073
Oranmore, Lord . . .	2,403	Stradbroke, Earl of . . .	5,341
Ormonde, Marquis . . .	17,457	Strafford, Earl of . . .	8,751
Pembroke, Earl of . . .	7,072	Stuart, Lord . . .	13,624
Plunket, Lord . . .	2,501	Talbot de Malahide, Lord . . .	3,194
Portarlington, Earl of . . .	14,891	Templemore, Lord . . .	15,119
Portsmouth, Earl of . . .	8,901	Templetown, Viscount . . .	17,324
Powerscourt, Viscount . . .	22,324	Vaux of Harrowden, Lord . . .	2,528
Ranfurly, Earl of . . .	11,081	Ventry, Lord . . .	15,284
Roden, Earl of . . .	9,294	Waterford, Marquis of . . .	50,306
Rosse, Earl of . . .	11,971		
Rossmore, Lord . . .	14,913		
Russell, Earl . . .	764		
			£1,842,631

Poor-Law Valuation of Lands in Ireland owned by 71 Irish Peers and other Titled Persons not in the House of Lords.

Aldeborough, Earl of . . .	£1,795	Fitzgerald, Lady A. H. . .	£1,025
Antrim, Lord . . .	12,600	FitzGibbon, Lady I. . .	8,298
Ashbrooke, Viscount . . .	6,579	Fortescue, Right Hon. C. P. . .	1,239
Ashtown, Lord . . .	8,894	Frankfort, Viscount . . .	3,026
Avonmore, Lord . . .	760	Garvagh, Lord . . .	6,668
Bantry, Lord . . .	11,628	Gough, Lord . . .	5,745
Bazencourt, Lady de . . .	1,506	Guillamore, Viscount . . .	293
Bellew, Lord . . .	4,688	Haberton, Viscount . . .	3,785
Beresford, Lady E. . .	441	Hankey, Lady E. . .	3,035
Beresford, Lord Charles . . .	2,658	Hill, Lord G. A. . .	1,185
Bloomfield, Lord . . .	5,824	Hill-Trevor, Lord A. E. . .	15,844
Boyle, The Ladies . . .	3,868	Kildare, Marquis . . .	285
Campbell, Lord . . .	1,706	Kilmaine, Lord . . .	4,812
Carbery, Lord . . .	8,814	Kingston, Earl . . .	37,181
Carrick, Earl . . .	722	Lisle, Lord . . .	6,758
Cavan, Earl . . .	171	Louth, Lord . . .	3,827
Chabot, Lord . . .	4,050	Lucan, Lord . . .	12,200
Charleville, Earl . . .	10,180	Luci, Countess de . . .	1,806
Charteris, Lady M. . .	10,573	Mayo, Lord . . .	8,116
Clanmorris, Lord . . .	8,069	Mountcashell, Lord . . .	3,893
Clermont, Lord C. G. . .	211	Mountgarret, Viscount . . .	8,922
Clifford, Lady de . . .	4,890	Muskerri, Lord . . .	999
Clinton, Lord C. C. P. . .	2,621	Netterville, Viscount . . .	3,362
Desart, Earl of . . .	8,949	Norbury, Countess of . . .	4,025
Dillon, Viscount . . .	19,562	Orkney, Earl . . .	5,664
Dunboyne, Lord . . .	379	Palmerston, Viscount . . .	1,697
Dunally, Lord . . .	7,754	Pigott, Lady I. . .	414
Farnham, Lord . . .	19,347	Quin, Lord George . . .	884
Fermoy, Lord . . .	7,891	Rathdonnell, Lord . . .	2,669
Fitzgerald, Lady A. . .	264	Southwell, Lord . . .	6,238

Stuart, Lord de Decis .	£16,512	Westenra, Hon. J. C. .	£2,688
Temple, Hon. R. T. H. .	3,868	Waterpark, Lord . .	4,483
Thomond, Marchioness of .	2,062	Wicklow, Earl . . .	15,715
Tolor, Hon. O. F. G. .	5,941	Wolfe, Lady Charles .	1,676
Trimelston, Lord . . .	6,742		
Valencia, Lord . . .	1,221		
Wallscourt, Lord . . .	1,805		£404,109

BOYCOTTING, OLD AND NEW.

Mr. S. Laing, the well-known and not undistinguished ex-M.P. for Orkney, has accurately described the conditions appertaining to the modern practice of boycotting in Ireland, where he is a frequent visitor, as follows :—

“The landlord fights with great advantages, for he has the law, the police, and the army at his back to enforce evictions for arrears of the old unjust and impossible rents. The tenants have nothing to oppose to this but a combination to starve the landlord out by preventing him from getting any rent until he agrees to a compromise. It is precisely the same thing as a battle between strike and lock-out in the cotton or coal districts. In each case it is evident that the men’s chance of winning turns mainly on the question whether the master or landlord, as the case may be, can get outsiders to work the mines or take the farms. If he can, he is bound to win ; if he cannot, he is pretty sure to be starved into surrender. Hence you may be sure that in either case the weaker party, whether they are called Welsh miners or Irish tenants, and whether their combination is called a Trades Union or a National League, will do all they can to prevent desertions from their own body and to keep away outsiders. The chief difference is this—that in Ireland the boycott is a far more effectual weapon than in England, where it is difficult to isolate individuals in the midst of a population of different classes and interests ; while, on the other hand, the landlords’ weapon of eviction is a far sharper one, for loss of employment to an English working man hardly ever signifies such a sentence of death as eviction does to a poor Irish tenant with absolutely no resource but to die in a ditch. . . . I consider all boycotts bad where the landlord has been willing to make such reasonable reductions of rents and arrears as other fairly good landlords were giving. I have never yet heard of such a case, for in all that I have known or read of such compromises have

“invariably been accepted; and where the dispute has been fought out to the bitter end, the Land Commissioners have given larger reductions than were asked for by the Plan of Campaign.”

But boycotting was in vogue in Ireland long before the existence of the Land League. Dean Swift, about one hundred and fifty years ago, in one of his *Drapier Letters*, said to his countrymen:—

“Should any man attempt to pass those halfpence [Wood’s coinage], let his name and his address and his occupation be ascertained, let it be published and made known, so that his countrymen may know him as a traitor to the interests of his country; and if that man be known to go to a market or fair let him be followed and warned, and let the innocent people of the country be warned against him.” And in his various proposals for the exclusive use of Irish manufactures he advised them “to burn everything that came from England but her people and her coals;” and wrote that “even a stay-lace of English manufacture should be considered scandalous.” Lastly, he said, “Let a firm resolution be taken by male and female never to appear with one single shred that comes from England; and let all the people say Amen.”

Then O’Connell used the following words on one occasion, when discussing the Irish Corporation Bill of 1836:—

“Men of the surrounding parishes about New Ross who afford livelihood, aye, and by your industry and money make fortunes for the voters of New Ross, meet at once in your respective parishes, appoint a deputation of three or four from every parish—appoint substantial, quiet, honest men; let a deputation from every parish go into New Ross and canvass from door to door. Let them cheer men who are honest; let them put on the door of every honest voter, in large letters, Talbot for ever, and No Tithes; No Orangemen! Let them take down and publish in their parishes the names of any of those traitors to Ireland. Let no man deal with them. Let no woman speak to them. Let the children laugh them to scorn.”

Finally, Mr. Parnell, speaking at a public meeting at Ennis

on September the 19th, 1880, said, as reported in the Dublin newspapers :—

“ When a man takes a farm from which another has been unjustly evicted, you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed ; you must show it to him on the roadside when you meet him ; you must show it to him in the streets of the town ; you must show it to him in the shop ; you must show it to him on the fair-green and in the market-place, and even in the place of worship, by leaving him alone ; by putting him into a moral Coventry ; by isolating him from the rest of his countrymen, as if he were the leper of old.”

THE TWO BATTERING-RAMS—PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN.

In the *Wars* of Josephus, we read as follows concerning the ancient battering-rams employed at the siege of Jotapata, a city of Galilee, where the Romans under Vespasian and Titus were for a time having the worst of it at the hands of the Jews under Flavius Josephus ; who is his own historian :—

“ When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were now not far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering-ram. This battering-ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship ; its fore-part is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men with a mighty noise, it batters the wall with that iron part which is prominent ; nor is there any tower so strong, nor walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last.”

Does not this agree in all essential particulars with the description given by the special correspondent of the *Daily News* of the modern Government battering-ram lately discovered in

concealment at Letterkenny railway station by Mr. H. J. Wilson, a Yorkshire M.P., and now lying in wait for offensive operations against the townland of Falcarragh, in Donegal? He says :—

“The ram consists of a sexagonal log of about fifteen feet, and shaped at one end like a wedge; or, to use another illustration, sharpened like a pencil. This end of the beam is faced with iron, and iron bands are placed around it at intervals of about five feet. One of these iron bands surrounds the point at which the centre of gravity lies. To this band is attached an iron ring, and by this ring the beam is suspended from three cast-iron bars, made to meet at the top in a triangular manner, and bolted together. This structure, together with a supply of pulleys, ropes, and chains, constitutes the famous instrument which has been built at the expense of the people for the levelling of the people’s homesteads. Amongst other weapons of ‘defence’ are crowbars, scaling ladders, hatchets, sledge-hammers, hooks, and pickaxes, and a supply is also laid in of canvas-covered iron netting and iron shields, the whole paraphernalia being very suggestive of ancient warfare. It may be added that the beam of the battering-ram is about half a ton in weight.”

It is just as well to know the truth, which has been long suspected, that the Judgment of Death described elsewhere by the *Times* will in future be executed by our Christian Government itself, instead of being delegated to the landlord as heretofore. The official pretence is that “it is desirable, where houses are illegally fortified and occupied by rioters [meaning the owners] in resisting the law, that effectual means should be taken in order that the limbs and lives of the police engaged might not suffer unnecessary risk.” Swift once laid it down as an axiom that “eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt.” But it is evidently an axiom which is not accepted by the Royal Irish Constabulary, even when armed with swords and loaded muskets. They are apparently afraid of the man in his shirt. Rather are they afraid, perhaps, of the eyes of the little children peering at them in terror through the chinks in their mud cabins. Thus con-

science doth make cowards of us all! When the emergency men show them the way, however, the police will probably pluck up the requisite courage "in the discharge of their duty." Here is how they came to the assistance of their allies, in overpowering the common enemy, at the right moment, at Falcarragh, Donegal, lately, as described by the special correspondent of the *Daily News*.—

"In the first house visited," he writes, "the wife of the tenant resisted the advance of the emergency men. One of the cowardly creatures gave her a violent push, whereupon she seized a stool in her hand to drive him back, but before she had time to grasp it firmly another emergency man struck her on the face with a chair, causing an ugly gash, from which blood flowed freely. Another coward struck her on the breast, whereupon her husband rushed to her assistance. He was immediately thrown violently outside and arrested by the police."

NAPOLÉON'S PROJECTED INVASION OF IRELAND.

Wolfe Tone, the most formidable and *statesmanlike* Irish rebel of the last century, has left on record a clear, specific statement of the primary cause of disaffection in Ireland in his time; which, but for adverse winds, might have led to momentous consequences to the British Empire. His *Life* gives an account of the proceedings at a meeting of a committee for French foreign affairs at the Hague to which he was taken by the eminent French general, Hoche, in June 1797, in order to discuss some arrangements with respect to the intended invasion of Ireland. The concluding sentence in the following passage from that work is deserving the attention of British statesmen, though it does but re-echo the wise warnings of Chief-Justice Fortescue in the early Tudor days, and Edmund Burke in the last century, to be found elsewhere:—

"A member of the committee," he observes, "I believe it was Van Leyden, then asked us, supposing everything succeeded to our wish, what was the definite object of the Irish people? To which we replied categorically that it was to throw off the yoke of England, break for ever the connection

“now existing with that country, and constitute ourselves a free and independent people. They all expressed their satisfaction at this reply ; and Van Leyden observed that he had travelled through Ireland, and, to judge from the luxury of the rich and extreme misery of the poor, no country in Europe had so crying a necessity for a revolution. To which Lewines [a companion of Tone] and I replied, as is most religiously the truth, that our great motive for our conduct in this business was the conviction of the wretched state of our peasantry, and the determination if possible to amend it.”

THE CONFESSIONS OF A UNIONIST.

In his *England's Case against Home Rule*—a work in which Ireland is supposed to have no “case”—Mr. Dicey says :—

“On one point alone (it may be urged) all men, of whatever party or of whatever nation, who have seriously studied the annals of Ireland are agreed—the history is a record of incessant failure on the part of the Government, and of incessant misery on the part of the people. On this matter, if on no other, De Beaumont, Froude, and Lecky are at one. . . . Bad administration, religious persecution—above all, a thoroughly vicious land tenure, accompanied by such sweeping confiscations as to make it, at any rate, a plausible assertion that all land in Ireland has during the course of Irish history been confiscated at least thrice over, are admittedly some of the causes, if they do not constitute the whole cause, of the one immediate difficulty which perplexes the policy of England. This is nothing else than the admitted disaffection to the law of the land prevailing among large numbers of Irish people. The existence of this disaffection, whatever be the inference to be drawn from it, is undeniable. A series of so-called Coercion Acts, passed both before and since the Act of Union, give undeniable evidence, if evidence were wanted, of the ceaseless and, as it would appear, almost irrepressible resistance in Ireland offered by the people to the enforcement of the law. I have not the remotest inclination to underrate the lasting and formidable character of this opposition between opinion and law, nor can any jurist who wishes to deal seriously with a serious and infinitely painful topic question for a moment that the ultimate strength of law lies in the sympathy, or at

"the lowest the acquiescence, of the mass of the population.
 "Judges, constables, and troops become almost powerless when
 "the conscience of the people permanently opposes the execu-
 "tion of the law. Severity produces either no effect or bad
 "effects; executed criminals are regarded as heroes or martyrs;
 "and jurymen and witnesses meet with the execration and often
 "with the fate of criminals. . . . Eighty-six years have elapsed
 "since the conclusion of the Treaty of Union between England
 "and Ireland. The two countries do not yet form a united
 "nation. The Irish people are, if not more wretched (for the
 "whole European world has made progress, and Ireland with
 "it), yet more conscious of wretchedness, and Irish disaffection
 "to England is, if not deeper, more widespread than in 1800.
 "An Act meant by its authors to be a source of the prosperity
 "and concord which, though slowly, followed upon the Union
 "with Scotland, has not made Ireland rich, has not put an end
 "to Irish lawlessness, has not terminated the feud between
 "Protestants and Catholics, has not raised the position of Irish
 "tenants, has not taken away the causes of Irish discontent,
 "and has therefore not removed Irish disloyalty. This is the
 "indictment which can fairly be brought against the Act of
 "Union."

THE VAGARIES OF A UNIONIST.

While he was yet "one of the people," Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., speaking of the system of Government in Ireland, said, at West Islington, on the 17th of June, 1885:—

"I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have
 "the slightest conception of the system under which this free
 "nation attempts to rule the sister country. It is a system
 "which is founded on the bayonets of thirty thousand soldiers
 "encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system
 "as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which
 "Russia governs Poland, or as that which prevailed in Venice
 "under the Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment can-
 "not move a step; he cannot lift a finger in any parochial,
 "municipal, or educational work without being confronted with,
 "interfered with, controlled by an English official, appointed
 "by a foreign Government, and without a shade or shadow of
 "representative authority" (loud cheers).

Ceasing to be one of the people, in the month of June, in the following year of 1886, Mr. Chamberlain—having become one of the “gentlemen of England” meanwhile—thus expressed himself at another public meeting, as he is reported in the pages of the *Westminster Review* :—

“The Irish people enjoy all your liberties, all your freedom, “everything which you prize, all that you find necessary to your “orderly existence. I deny altogether that Ireland is not a “self-governed country. Ireland is part of a country in which “Government has been carried on to a greater perfection than “any other country on the face of the earth” (loud laughter).

A UNIONIST IN HIS RIGHT MIND.

In the first edition of his *Leaders of Public Opinion*, Mr. Lecky has summed up the Irish case against England as follows, in course of an indignant protest with regard to the habitual tone of depreciation which it is the custom of the British press to adopt towards Ireland. No man living has done more to foster public opinion in that country than the great Protestant historian :—

“Another important element of dissension is the tone “habitually adopted by English writers towards Ireland. “Reasoning *a priori*, we might have imagined that common “decency would have rendered that tone guarded and conciliatory, for if England has sometimes had cause to complain of “Ireland, Ireland has had incomparably more cause to complain of England. For seven hundred years England has “ruled over a nation which has exhibited more than average “intellect at home, and far more than average success abroad “—a nation which, though its faults are doubtless many “and serious, is certainly neither unamiable, ungrateful, nor intractable; and she has left it one of the most discontented “and degraded in Europe. She has ruled over a country which “seemed designed by Providence to be one of the most flourishing in the world; indented with the noblest harbours, placed “between two continents, as if to reap the advantages of both, “possessing a temperate and salubrious climate, and a soil of “more than common fertility—and she has left it one of the “poorest, one of the most wretched upon earth. A fatal blast “seems to rest upon it, and to counteract all the advantages of

"Nature. The most superficial traveller is struck with the anomaly. His first inquiry is—'What tyranny has so thwarted the designs of Providence?' He finds that, according to the confessions of English writers for the 650 years that elapsed between the Conquest and the Emancipation of the Catholics, the English Government of Ireland was one long series of oppressions—that massacres and banishments, confiscations and disqualifications, compulsory ignorance and trade restrictions were all resorted to; that the industry of the country was so paralysed that it has never recovered its elasticity; that the various classes of the people were so divided that they have never gained their unity; that the character of the nation was so formed and moulded in the die of sorrow that almost every prominent vice engrained in the national character may be distinctly traced to the influences of bygone tyranny; and that when the age of disqualifications had passed, a legislative system was still retained, in defiance of the wish of the people, by the nation which proclaims itself the most emphatic assertor of the rights of nationalities.

"Such is the past of English Government of Ireland—a tissue of brutality and hypocrisy scarcely surpassed in history. Who would not have imagined that in a more enlightened age the tone of the British press towards Ireland would have been at least moderate, friendly, and conciliatory? Let any candid man judge whether it is so. Let him observe the prominence given to every crime that is committed in Ireland, to every absurdity that can be culled from the Irish press, to every failure of an Irish movement. Let him observe the ceaseless ridicule, the unwavering contempt, the studied depreciation of the Irish character and intellect habitual in the English newspaper. Let him observe their persistent refusal to regard Irish affairs in any light but the ridiculous, and then answer the question for himself. We believe impartial Englishmen will scarcely deny what foreign observers unanimously declare that the object of the most influential section of the English press is to discredit the Irish intellect and Irish character before England and before Europe. 'The tone of the English press towards Ireland,' said a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, when urging the Irish people to give up the dream of nationality, 'is detestable.' 'It would be about as reasonable,' remarked a recent German tourist, 'to judge of the Irish character from English writers as to take an Austrian estimate of Italian affairs.'

“As long as this tone continues the two nations never can amalgamate, or assimilate, or cordially co-operate. A war of recriminations is an evil, but it is a greater evil for a nation tranquilly to suffer its character to be frittered away by calumny veiled in sarcasm, and by a contemptuous suppression of all facts but those which tell against itself. As long as Englishmen adopt a tone of habitual depreciation in speaking of the present of Ireland, Irishmen would betray their country were they to suffer the curtain to fall upon its past.”

In a letter addressed to Colonel Donnelly, dated December 1880, and published in the *Times* on the 3rd of that month, General Gordon, referring to the still too common tone of depreciation in which many of our English newspapers indulge their humour when dealing with Irish questions, said :—

“Our comic prints do an infinity of harm by their caricatures; firstly, the caricatures are not true—for crime in Ireland is not greater than in England; and secondly, they exasperate the people on both sides of the Channel and do no good. It is ill to laugh and scoff at a question which affects our existence.”

A VIRTUOUS PEOPLE.

Lord Normanby, an ex-Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, speaking in the House of Lords on the 13th of February 1844, thus described the origin of Irish crime :—

Of the inhabitants of Ireland he said, “There never was a people whose faults and sufferings more obviously arose out of their relations with man, and less out of their relations with their Maker. There is no country in the world in which there are such general privations and sufferings, and among whom there is a more general and universal practice of all the social and domestic virtues—who are better husbands, better wives, better fathers, better mothers, and better sons; better, in short, in all those relations in which it would naturally be expected that the fruit of religious instruction would be found. It is to the struggle for that subsistence which your boasted legislation has failed to procure for them, and which your free institutions have partly withheld from them, that almost all the crimes are to be traced with which you charge them.”

AN INDESTRUCTIBLE NATION.

How wisely has not Thierry, the eminent French historian of the Norman Conquest, dwelt upon the unexampled fact that:—

“There are nations, with retentive memories, whom the thought of independence does not abandon even in servitude, and who, resisting against habit, which is elsewhere so powerful, even after the lapse of ages, still detest and abjure the condition to which a superior power has reduced them. Such is the Irish nation. It is in vain that English power has exhausted itself in efforts to extinguish that memory, to make the conquest be forgotten, and make the results of armed invasion be considered as the exercise of a legal authority; nothing has been able to destroy Irish stubbornness. In despite of seductions, menaces, and tortures, fathers have bequeathed it to their sons. . . . This unconquerable tenacity, this lengthened remembrance of departed liberty, this faculty of preserving and nourishing, through ages of physical misery and suffering, the thought of that which is no more,—of never despairing of a constantly-vanquished cause, for which many generations have successively, and in vain, perished in the field, and by the executioner, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary and the greatest example that a people has ever given.”

In his essay on *England and Ireland*, Mill has well observed that it is not consistent with self-respect, in a nation any more than in an individual, to wait till it is compelled by uncontrollable circumstances to resign that which it cannot in conscience hold. To hold Ireland permanently by the old bad means is simply impossible. Neither Europe nor America would now bear the sight of a Poland across the Irish Channel. “The attempt,” he said, “could not long succeed with a country so vulnerable as England, having territories to defend in every part of the globe, and half her population dependent on foreign commerce.” We are, in fact, face to face with a people animated by a spirit of resistance which cannot be overcome.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING THE TRAGIC STORY OF WHOLESALE EVICTIONS IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

"O Scotland, Scotland ! many a heart is sad and sore for thee,
Though basely, meanly, falsely driven to dwell beyond the sea ;
Why stoop to those who cannot walk with high and upright head—
Whose little souls no kindred own with thy time-honoured dead."

LAND TENURE IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS, OLD AND NEW.

HAVING devoted so many pages at the beginning of this work to the evictions which took place in England under the Plantagenets and Tudors, the brief reference to the evictions which have taken place in Scotland under the present dynasty appears somewhat inadequate to its general scope. Hardly anything more pathetic is to be found in British history, ancient or modern, than the story of the Highland clearances from 1782 down to the present time. Like the story of Ireland, it consists of a series of tragedies in real life, before which the fiction of the novelist pales into insignificance. In the Scottish Highlands, till the fatal day at Culloden, in 1746, the clans enrolled themselves under native chiefs of their own blood in their respective districts. They were in a sense, from time immemorial, the owners of their own soil, and the electors of their own rulers. They were neither serfs nor vassals, though subject to a kind of civil and criminal jurisdiction under their chiefs. In addition to the military service due to the latter, certain payments were made them by the clans, but only out of a sense of duty ; and the clansmen held their lands and rights to pasture, wood and peat, fish and game, by the same title as that by which the chiefs held their estates. But all this was changed by the action

of the English Government less than forty years after Culloden, the clansmen having their system of land tenure thenceforward assimilated to that of England, without consideration for their ancient rights. Their estates, forfeited by the rebellion of 1745, were restored to the chiefs in 1782, but without any provision in favour of the people. For a time the change was not materially felt, as Mr. Russell Wallace observes, in his *Land Nationalisation* (1882):—

“Tracts of land were assigned to the more important members of the clan on payment of an annual rent, and those often sublet the land to the poorer Highlanders. The English system of entail soon became common in Scotland, and by marriage, inheritance, and purchase, the great estates became still greater, and passed into fewer hands, while the feeling of clanship became weaker, and the rights of the clansmen less clearly recognised. When, shortly afterwards, England engaged in the great American and Continental wars, the Highland noblemen raised recruits from among their clansmen, and formed the famous Highland regiments; and, as this added to their dignity and importance, they favoured the increase of small farmers whose hardy sons would swell the ranks of the army. The larger of these tenants were called ‘tacksmen,’ the smaller ‘crofters,’ and thus most of the Highland valleys were filled with a peaceful, hardy, industrious, and contented population. The testimony on this subject is of a very uniform nature. ‘The tacksmen, or small gentlemen farmers, lived in rude houses, but with much comfort, and were almost always men of good education and refined manners; while their hospitality was unbounded, and they freely supported among them the poor of the district.’”

As to the crofters, Sir John McNeill, in his *Report on the Western Highlands*, describes their former tenure as permanent or even hereditary, at rents fixed for long periods. In addition to their few acres of arable land, they had the right of pasture on the mountain side, with fuel, fishing, &c.; and usually possessed some cattle, sheep, and a horse. From these various sources of industry they also enjoyed a rude abundance, without excessive toil. Hugh Miller describes the period succeeding 1745, while the landlords were in hiding abroad—a period of forty years—as the golden age of the Highlands. It was the period also during which the English king was able to summon to his standards from the populous Highland glens tens of thousands of as fine soldiers as any in Europe; soldiers of whom Chatham said, speaking in 1776, “they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered in every part of the world.” But of the military features of the subject more anon. For the present it is of greater importance to describe the change

which was on the eve of taking place at this time, brought about by landlord rapacity and greed. Much pretty writing has been expended on the battle of Culloden by the poets, but the tragical results of that disastrous event to the unfortunate Highlanders are too prosaic for any such treatment of the subject by the political economist :—

“ *Lochiel*.—False Wizard, avaunt !—I have marshalled my clan,
Their swords are as thousands, their bosoms are one !
They are true to the last of their blood and their breath,
And like reapers descend to the harvest of death.”

The Wizard was indeed no true seer, or he would have warned—not *Lochiel* to beware of Cumberland—but rather *Lochiel*’s clansmen to beware of *Lochiel*. It was a maxim of Edward IV. (who never lost or avoided a battle) “to slay the nobles and let the common folks go free.” It had been well for humanity—well for England—if Cumberland acted on the maxim at Culloden. The descendants of the “stout Glengarrys,” the “gallant Gordons,” and the “wise *Lochiels*”—some of whose fathers were themselves, in the heat of the contest, carried out of the range of sword and bullet on the shoulders of their too faithful followers—repaid the Highlanders of another generation by eviction, starvation, and death. The story of those brave men during the past hundred years is, from first to last, a story of flagrant usurpation, cruel oppression, and indescribable suffering; the victims being an exemplary, God-fearing, and most deserving people. By a gradual process of encroachment the chiefs, on being repossessed of their estates, assumed the pretensions of feudal landowners. The tacksmen, or middlemen, were the first to feel the change. Unexpectedly deprived of the privilege of subletting a portion of their lands, they emigrated in disgust, 6,400 leaving for America during the years preceding 1792. Those on the estate of Lord Macdonald in the Isle of Skye did, indeed, attempt to withstand the chief—who fled the island—binding themselves by a solemn oath to keep down rents by refusing to offer for vacant farms. But in vain. The crofters, too, as suddenly found themselves deprived of pasture, wood and peat, game and fishing. Thus restricted to their little crofts, their resources quickly ran out, poverty supervened, and their doom was sealed. The landlords, tempted by offers of greater rents (and less trouble of collection) from Lowland sheep farmers, directed the tenants to take their choice of “Hell or Canada.” According to Aikman, the continuator of Buchanan’s *Scotland*, in some instances the landlords directed the

factors to "drive them into the sea, let them go to the Plantations, "or go to hell." The Dukes opened the Scottish eviction campaign, and are, therefore, entitled to precedence in these pages, apart from their rank.

THE DUCAL EVICTIONS.

Of the Sutherland evictions we have already seen something related in our second chapter from the pages of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie's *Highland Clearances*,¹ a work which should entitle its author to the lasting gratitude of the British public. A fiend in female form, bearing the double-barrelled name of Sutherland and Stafford, led the way, as far back as 1807. It is said that when her husband faltered in the murderous work, she played the rôle of Lady Macbeth. "Infirm of purpose !—Give me the daggers," she shrieked. And we know the dire result. In 1807 ninety families were thus ejected inland, who were provided with miserably inferior lots near the coast ; "between the devil and the deep sea," so to speak. The factor superintending was one Sellar, a name at which young and old turned pale with terror. During the removal, their crops suffered greatly, the families had to sleep out of doors, some died through fatigue and exposure, while others contracted diseases which ultimately put an end to their existence. They were, in fact, "improved" off the face of the earth. In 1816, Lady Macbeth had expedited the tedious process of removal *by firing the cabins*, exactly as is done at this day at Luggacurran, in Ireland, on the property of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Governor-General of India. Mr. Mackenzie describes a Sutherland clearance in that year in the words of an eyewitness of the scene ; which may be considered in the light of a companion picture to that Irish one to be found at page 101 in the present volume. The evil work commenced, we are told :—

"By setting fire to the houses of the small tenants in extensive districts—part of the parishes of Farr, Rogart, Golspie, and the whole parish of Kildonan. I was an eyewitness of the scene. This calamity came on the people quite unexpectedly. Strong parties, for each district, furnished with faggots and other combustibles, rushed on the dwellings of this devoted people, and immediately commenced setting fire to them, proceeding in their work with the greatest rapidity till about three hundred houses were in flames ! The consternation and confusion were extreme ; little or no time was given for removal of persons or property—the people striving to remove the sick and the helpless before the fire

¹ Unfortunately now out of print and scarce.

“should reach them—next, struggling to save the most valuable of their effects. The cries of the women and children—the roaring of the affrighted cattle, hunted at the same time by the yelling dogs of the shepherds amid the smoke and fire—altogether presented a scene that completely baffles description : it required to be seen to be believed. A dense cloud of smoke enveloped the whole country by day, and even extended far on the sea ; at night an awfully grand, but terrific scene presented itself—all the houses in an extensive district in flames at once ! I myself ascended a height about eleven o’clock in the evening, and counted two hundred and fifty blazing houses, many of the owners of which were my relations, and all of whom I personally knew ; but whose present condition, whether in or out of the flames, I could not tell. The conflagration lasted six days, till the whole of the dwellings were reduced to ashes or smoking ruins. During one of these days a boat lost her way in the dense smoke as she approached the shore ; but at night she was enabled to reach a landing-place by the light of the flames !”

On the fatal day at Culloden the Athol Highlanders were in the very front and most exposed rank of the line of battle, having Lochiel’s clansmen on their left, “all plaided and plumed in their tartan array.” Could not the Wizard have mercifully warned them also against their chief, since it is due to Lady Macbeth to observe that a Duke of Athol preceded her as a pioneer in the work of destruction, and is entitled, therefore, to the distinction of being the first to claim the right of doing what you like with—the property of other people ? Whatever merit the Sutherland family may take to themselves for levelling and firing the cabins of fifteen thousand inhabitants, they cannot at least claim the merit of originality, since his grace of Athol commenced proceedings in Glen Tilt as far back as 1784, according to the *Gloomy Memories* of Donald Macleod, who says :—

“This beautiful valley was occupied in the same way as other Highland valleys, each family possessing a piece of arable land, while the pasture was held in common. The people held a right and full liberty to fish in the Tilt, an excellent salmon river, and the pleasure and profits of the chase, with their chief ; but the then Duke acquired a great taste for deer. The people were, from time immemorial, accustomed to take their cattle, in the summer season, to a higher glen, which is watered by the river Tarf ; but the Duke appointed Glen Tarf for a deer-forest, and built a high dyke at the head of Glen Tilt. The people submitted to this encroachment on their ancient rights. The deer increased and did not pay much regard to the march ; they would jump over the dyke and destroy the people’s crops ; the people complained, and

“his grace rejoiced ; and to gratify the roving propensities of these
 “light-footed animals, he added another slice of some thousand acres
 “of the people’s land to the grazing ground of his favourite deer.
 “Gradually the forest extended, and the marks of civilisation were
 “effaced, till the last of the brave Glen Tilt men, who fought and
 “often confronted and defeated the enemies of Scotland and her
 “kings upon many a bloody battlefield, were routed off, and bade a
 “final farewell to the beautiful Glen Tilt, which they and their
 “fathers had considered their own healthy and sweet home. The
 “Glens of Athol are intersected by smaller valleys, presenting various
 “aspects, from the most fertile carse to the bleakest moorland. But
 “man durst not be seen there. The image of God is forbidden
 “unless it be stamped upon the Duke, his foresters, and game-
 “keepers, that the deer may not be disturbed.”

Pope’s lines are not altogether inapplicable here to do justice to the man who first showed his class how they might increase their rental and enhance their sport at the same time :—

“Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
 A mighty hunter—and his prey was man.
 What wonder then a beast or subject slain
 Were equal crimes in a despotic reign ?
 Both, doomed alike, for sportive tyrants bled ;
 But while the subject starved, the beast was fed.”

On the 15th of July last, the good Duke of Argyll observed, in the House of Lords :—

“It will probably be in the recollection of your lordships that
 “among the theatrical exhibitions and evictions of tenants in Ireland
 “got up by the Land League there was the case of Mr. Olphert, in
 “the county of Donegal.”

Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., an ex-Cabinet Minister, Mr. H. J. Wilson, a Yorkshire M.P., and Mr. Conybeare, a Cornish M.P.—all three gentlemen having visited Donegal in the course of the eviction campaign in that county—no doubt took part in the gross imposture. Well, few men know the merits of a question of the kind better than the Duke, whose instincts and inclinations in regard to evictions are hereditary. No Scottish chieftain better understood, or more faithfully adopted, than the founder of his family, MacCallum More :—

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can.”

Lord Macaulay has dwelt upon the fact that :—

"It was constantly repeated in verse and prose, that the finest part of the domain belonging to the ancient heads of the Gaelic nation—Islay, where they lived with the pomp of royalty—Iona, where they had been interred with the pomp of religion—the Paps of Jura, the rich peninsula of Kintyre, had been transferred from the legitimate possessors to the insatiable 'MacCallum More.'"

Dr. Johnson, in his *Journey to the Hebrides*, says, "That man is little to be envied whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." The Duke has written a pretty guide-book, teeming with paradox, for the tourist to Iona, from which, however, there are some interesting omissions. On the dissolution of the monastic establishments, for instance, Iona was annexed to the bishopric of Argyll. There is still a bishopric of Argyll. In fact there are two bishoprics of the name, one Catholic and the other Protestant; the occupant of the Catholic see being a Macdonald, and a collateral descendant of the Lords of the Isles plundered by MacCallum More. But, oddly enough, Iona, the choicest portion of the ancient see, belongs to neither, being in the safe keeping of, not a Bishop, but a *Duke* of Argyll. To this fact there is, of course, no allusion in the pretty guide-book. The Duke claims St. Columba (*temp.* 563) as being, in some sort, the foster-father of the Established Church of Scotland in 1889; and perhaps he thinks, as a not undistinguished member of that *non-Episcopal* body, he has the best claim to the historic appanage of the bishopric of Argyll. Anyhow, the inhabitants of both the Highlands and the Islands have been severely punished through their superstitious devotion to the Scottish dukes generally. Even John Knox, looking backwards, had at least one glimpse of his own credulity, when—seeing around him his brother ministers starving on a beggarly pittance—in the bitterness of his heart he retorted on a Buccleuch, exclaiming—"Verily, cupidity hath begotten many Reformers!" When we visited Iona lately, the surviving inhabitants were impatient for the arrival of the Crofter Commissioners to cut down the ducal rackrents there as elsewhere.

A deputation of the Glasgow Highland Relief Board, consisting of Dr. Robert Macgregor and Mr. Charles R. Baird, their Secretary, visited, amongst other places in the Western Highlands, Mull (partly owned by the Duke of Argyll), Iona, Tiree, &c., in 1849, and they immediately afterwards issued a printed report on the state of these places, a few extracts from which will prove instructive. They inform us that the population of the Island of Mull, according to the Government census of 1821, was 10,612; of 1841, 10,064. In 1871 it is found reduced to 6,441, and by the census of 1881, to 5,624, or a

fraction more than half the number that inhabited the island in 1821. Tobermory, the most important village in the island, we are told, "has been for some time the resort of the greater part of the small "crofters and cottars *ejected* from their holdings and houses on the "surrounding estates, and thus there has been a great accumulation "of distress." Iona, wholly owned by the Duke, which had formerly a population of 500, only now contains, according to the last census, a population of 243 souls. Tiree, of which he is also the sole proprietor, had, in 1841, a population of 4,687, which, according to the same census, is now reduced to 2,733. Of the district of Kilfinichen, another property of the Duke, the same charitable body reported :—

"The crofters and cottars having been warned off, twenty-six individuals emigrated to America at their own expense, and one at that "of the Parochial Board ; a good many removed to Kinloch, where "they are now in great poverty, and those who remained were not "allowed to cultivate any ground for crop or even garden stuffs. "The stock and other effects of a number of crofters on Kinloch, "last year (1848), and whose rents averaged from £5 to £15 per "annum, having been sequestrated and sold, these parties are now "reduced to a state of pauperism, having no employment or means "of subsistence whatever."

Respecting the district of Bunessan, our authority says :—

"It will be recollected that the [Relief] Committee, some time "ago, advanced £128 to assist in procuring provisions for a number "of emigrants from the Duke of Argyll's estate, in the Ross of Mull "and Iona, in all 243 persons—125 adults and 118 children. . . . "We have received the very melancholy and distressing intelligence "that many of those emigrants had been seized with cholera on their "arrival in Canada ; that not a few of them had fallen victims to it ; "and that the survivors had suffered great privations. . . . We trust "that no emigration will in future be promoted by proprietors or "others, which will not secure, as far as human effort can, *the benefit* "of those who emigrate, as well as of those who are left at home."

These are but a few, not of "the theatrical exhibitions and "evictions of tenants in Ireland got up by the Land League," to which the Duke of Argyll refers in his speech in the House of Lords on the 15th of July last, but of the evictions "got up" by himself in the Scottish Highlands in recent years. The Duke's system would ruin any kingdom on earth. According to Mr. John Murdoch, the indefatigable author of the *Crofter Revolt* (1886), in 1831, the population of the whole Island of Islay was 14,992. But in 1881 that population was reduced to 7,574. In 1833 the rent was

about £15,000, or less than £1 per head; in 1881 the rent was £37,405, 8s. 2d., or within a fraction of £5 per head. In other words, while the population diminished by 50 per cent., the rent increased by nearly 150 per cent., or 500 per cent. per head of the all but landless inhabitants! "For," Mr. Murdoch adds, "while there could hardly have been fewer than 1,500 tenant-farmers at these earlier dates, there are only about 230 now." The Duke wants the same experiment tried on an equally extensive scale in the Irish Highlands also, and tells us in the same speech, on the authority of Mr. Tuke—who used to be a philanthropist before he became a Unionist—that:—

"A considerable number of tenants emigrated [probably under compulsion as in Argyllshire], and then it was agreed that their houses should be pulled down and their holdings added to the next area. I am told [by Mr. Tuke] that that district is thriving admirably. But there is one condition above all others which is indispensable to the permanent improvement of the country. You must teach the old doctrine of common honesty in your transactions between man and man. (Cheers.)"

Whether the cheers were for Mr. Tuke or the Duke does not appear clear, but anyhow the Irish and Scottish peerage must have vigorously exercised their throats on the occasion. Pulling down houses for the philanthropic purpose of rendering the condition of the survivors "admirably thriving" has long been the foundation of their common policy in Scotland and Ireland. The Duke is always at his best when preaching the doctrine of "common honesty." In his *Reign of Law* he is found saying:—

"It was no oratorical exaggeration, but a strict and literal description of the truth, when Mr. Gladstone said of the old commercial policy that it was 'a system of robbing and plundering ourselves.'"

Doubtless it was so. But surely it was not so great an offence, in the sight of God or man, as the agrarian policy of robbing other people of the fruits of their honest labour, which has now been in full operation for more than a century in two parts of the United Kingdom. In the Island of Tiree alone the Duke's rents have been reduced by the itinerant Crofter Commissioners from £1,251, 18s. to £922, 10s. Fear of his scolding tongue and caustic pen probably averted a reduction by one-half. In 1831 the population of the county of Argyll was 100,973; in 1841 it was 97,371; in 1851 it was reduced to 88,567; and in 1881 it was down to 76,468. Of the latter number the Registrar-General classifies 30,387 as urban, or

the population of "towns and villages," leaving us only 46,081 as the total rural population of the county of Argyll at the date of the last census, in 1881.

NOBLE LORDS AND RIGHT HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN
CONTINUE THE SPORT.

It goes against the grain, and is most repulsive work, to publish a selected list of Scottish landlords as if deserving of reprobation. It is necessary, therefore, it should be understood that many of those now living are but the heirs of a sad inheritance. It is gratifying to know, for instance, that the present Marquis of Breadalbane is a good landlord, and takes an entirely different view to that of a predecessor in regard to his duties and relationship to the tenants on the vast property referred to here. He cannot bring back the dead, though he might and ought to make restitution to the living. Mr. R. Alister, author of *Barriers to the National Prosperity of Scotland*, had a controversy with a former Marquis of Breadalbane in 1853, about the eviction of his tenantry. In a letter dated July of that year, Mr. Alister made a charge against him, that he had evicted, since 1834, no less than 500 families, or 2,500 souls :—

"In Glenqueich, near Amulree," he said, "some sixty families formerly lived, where there are now only four or five; and in America there is a glen inhabited by its ousted tenants, and called Glenqueich still. The desolations here look like the ruins of Irish cabins, although the population of Glenqueich were always characterised as being remarkably thrifty, economical, and wealthy. On the Braes of Taymouth, at the back of Drummond Hill, and at Tullochyoule, some forty or fifty families formerly resided where there is not one now! Glenorchy, by the returns of 1831, showed a population of 1,806; in 1841, 831;—is there no depopulation there?"

In another letter the same writer said :—

"You must be aware that your late father raised 2,500 men during the last war, and that 1,600 of that number were from the Breadalbane estates. My statement is, that 150 could not *now* be raised, which is, perhaps, the worst charge of the whole. I have often made inquiries of Highlanders on this point, and the number above stated was the *highest* estimate. Many who should know, state to me that your Lordship would not get *fifty* followers from the whole of the estates. This, then, is the position of the question. In 1793-4 there was such a numerous, hardy, and industrious popu-

"lation on the Breadalbane estates, that there could be spared of	
"valorous defenders of their country in her hour of danger .	1,600
"Highest estimate now	150
<hr/>	
"Banished	1,450
" <i>Per contra</i> —Game of all sorts increased a hundred-fold."	

The people of Skye and the Uist, where the Macdonalds for centuries ruled in the manner of princes over a loyal and devoted people, were treated not a whit better than those on the mainland, when their services were no longer required to fight the battles of the Lords of the Isles, or to secure to them their possessions, their dignity, and power. They were cruelly evicted, and in enormous numbers. In 1849, for instance, Lord Macdonald determined to evict between 600 and 700 persons from Sollas, in North Uist, of which he was then proprietor. They were at the time in a state of great misery from the failure of the potato crop several years in succession. Some of the men were employed on drainage works, for which public money was advanced to the proprietors; but here, as in most other places throughout the Highlands, the money earned was applied by the factors to wipe off old arrears, while the people were permitted generally to starve. The landlord having decided that they must go, notices of ejection were served upon them, to take effect on the 15th of May 1849. They asked for delay, to enable them to dispose of their cattle and other effects to the best advantage at the summer markets, and offered to work meanwhile making kelp, on terms which would prove remunerative to the proprietors. No answers were received to their petitions, which were ignored. At the same time they were directed to sow as much corn and potatoes as they could during the spring, for which they were told they would be fully compensated, whatever happened. They sold much of their effects to procure seed, and continued to work and sow up to and even after the 15th of May. They then began to cut their peats as usual, thinking that they were after all to be allowed to get the benefit. They were, however, soon disappointed—their goods were hypothecated. Many of them were turned out of their houses, the doors locked, and everything they possessed—cattle, crops, and peats—seized. Even their bits of furniture were thrown out of doors in the manner which had long become the fashion in such cases. Several heart-rending scenes followed of course. But the Sollas evictions were not sufficient to satisfy the evicting craze of Lord Macdonald. In 1851-53 he, or rather his trustee, determined to evict the people from the villages of Boreraig and Suisinish, Isle of

Skye. Some who were endeavouring to escape to America succumbed to a deadly fever which broke out on board ship. On the 4th of April 1853 those who had remained behind were all warned out of their holdings to make room for deer. They petitioned and pleaded to no purpose. "I remember very well the removal of "the people from Boreraig twenty-six years ago," Donald MacInnes, of Duisdale, observed to the Crofter Commissioners :—

"Some of the people perished from the hardships they had to "endure when put out of their houses. It was in time of snow they "were put out ; one man perished. He belonged to Suishinish. He "was found dead at his own door after he had been evicted. His "name was Alex. Matheson. There was great hardship connected "with that eviction. The fires were extinguished, the houses knocked "down, and the people forced out much against their will, the "officers compelling them."

The Macdonald clansmen are said to have refused to fight at Cul-loden because they were not placed, as was customary, in the right wing, to lead off as it were. Here is another instance in which the Wizard should have warned the clan of what was in store for them at the hands of their chief. The tourist in Skye who takes a walk of a mile from his hotel at Portree, along a quaking bog road, may obtain an acquaintance with the results of legalised robbery and cruelty there sufficient to spoil his appetite during the rest of his stay in the island. "Much food is the tillage of the poor," according to the Holy Scriptures. You might here plunge a fishing-rod into the peat, and count the blades of corn growing thereupon for the sustenance of the inhabitants.

It is entirely beyond the scope of this work to attempt any lengthy or detailed account of the Scottish clearances. But the observation in regard to Lord Breadalbane has a general application. The present Lord Lovat is a minor, and his father was a good landlord. A predecessor in the title, however, cleared Glenstrathfarrar. Elsewhere, a Chisholm also tried to undo the evil work of a Chisholm. In the same way, if Lord Tweedmouth, who is still in the flesh, had his performances in Guisachan, Strathglass, unpleasantly described before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1873, a "daughter of the house" has long since made restitution in his behalf by her friendship for the poor and the oppressed. It was stated at the time that when Sir Dudley Marjoribanks, now Lord Tweedmouth, bought the property, there was a population of 255 souls upon it. What has become of them all? Sir Dudley, in his examination before the Committee, said that he did not evict any of the people. But Mr.

MaCombie, one of the members of the Committee, having observed — “Then the tenants went away of their own free will,” — Sir Dudley replied, “I must not say so quite. I told them that when “they had found other places to go to, I wished to have their “farms.” And he has since converted them into a deer forest. Lord Abinger, another modern peer, has been stealthily evicting his tenants, along the banks of the Lochy and Spean, by threes and fours at a time, to escape observation, though some of their sons probably fought under the command of his father in the charge of the heavy brigade at Balaclava. The lands were good, through their labour, and they owed no rent. Yet were they evicted, without a penny compensation for their levelled houses even, to make room for the deer—and the deerstalker in the person of Sir Richard Wallace.

Having so far disposed of the Peers, we have but little space to accommodate the imitative performances of the Commoners. Yet are they not quite undeserving of notice. “I will tell you how Rodil was cleared,” observed one John MacDiarmid, of the Island of Scalpa, addressing the Crofter Commissioners; and he proceeded to relate how a Scottish landlord—whose ancestor, probably, was supported in his hiding-place abroad after 1745–6 by the fidelity of his clansmen—had celebrated the first anniversary of his wedding, as follows :—

“When young Macleod [the laird] came home with his newly-married wife, he went about to show her the place. Twenty of “the women of Rodil came out to meet them, and danced a reel “before them, so glad were they to see them. By the time the year “was out—twelve months from that day—those twenty women were “weeping and wailing, their houses being unroofed, and their fires “quenched, by orders of the estate. I could not say who was to “blame, but before the year was out one hundred and fifty fires were “quenched in Rodil.”

Theirs was the “dance of death” surely! There was a Cameron of Lochiel who on being asked what his rental was, answered proudly, “Eight hundred Camerons;” meaning his clansmen. The grandfather of the present Lochiel probably evicted an equal number of souls. Chisholm, another chieftain, cleared Strathglass of a considerable population, though his ancestor was carried out of battle at Culloden by one of his clansmen. The widow of a Macdonnell actually superintended the unroofing of her tenants’ houses in Glengarry; and, of one cargo of her victims which sailed from Fort-William for America, fifty-three souls perished on the way out by an epidemic. A Colonel Gordon of Barra, in the Outer Hebrides

had ferocious dogs sent after unwilling emigrants to pen them along the sea-shore, where, when necessary, they were bound hand and foot preparatory to being cast on board a ship. And this in the nineteenth century, with the "Mother"—or rather the "Step-mother" of Free Parliaments" looking on approvingly !

No ancestor of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland was at Bannockburn, Flodden, or even Culloden (1746); the founder of the family having, it is said, only two generations back, by his industry and cleverness as a wholesale meat contractor to the navy, put together sufficient money to purchase, as a bankrupt estate, the fine property of Strathconon, in Ross-shire. That property he presented to his son, who, marrying Lord Salisbury's sister, must needs seek to increase his rental in Strathconon by the expulsion of its industrious and prosperous inhabitants, without compensation for the labour of their lives or their levelled homes, *though they did not owe Mr Balfour one penny rent*. He bought the estate as a speculative investment, and, as Mr. Froude has expressed it in regard to Irish absentee landlords, probably neither he nor his son cared any more for the souls and bodies of the unfortunate Christian people thus committed to his charge, "than the owners of a West Indian plantation for the herds of slaves whose backs were blistering in the cane fields." Mr. Mackenzie, in his *Highland Clearances* (1883), tells the story of Balfour père as follows, with his customary impartiality and moderation :—

"From 1840 to 1848 Strathconon was almost entirely cleared of its ancient inhabitants to make room for sheep and deer. The property was under trustees when the harsh proceedings were commenced by the factor, Mr. Rose, a notorious Dingwall solicitor. He began by taking away, first, the extensive hill-pasture, for generations held as club-farms by the townships, thus reducing the people from a position of comfort and independence ; and secondly as we saw done elsewhere, finally evicting them from the arable portion of the strath, though they were not a single penny in arrear of rent. Coirre-Bhuic and Scard-Roy were first cleared, and given respectively, as sheep-farms to Mr. Brown, from Morayshire, and Colin Munro, from Dingwall. Mr. Balfour, when he came of age cleared Coirre-Feola and Achadh-an-eas ; Carnach was similarly treated, while no less than twenty-seven families were evicted from Glen-Meine alone. Baile-a-Mhuilinn and Baile-na-Creige were cleared in 1844, no less than twenty-four families from these townships removing to the neighbourhood of Knock-farrel and Loch Ussie, above Dingwall, where they were provided with holdings by the late John Hay Mackenzie of Cromartie, father of the [late] Duchess of Sutherland. A great many more found

“shelter on various properties in the Black Isle—some at Drynie Park, Maol-Bui; others at Kilcoy, Allangrange, Cromarty, and the Aird. It is computed that from four to five hundred souls were thus driven from Strathconon, and cast adrift on the world, including a large number of persons quite helpless, from old age, blindness, and other infirmities. The scenes were much the same as we have described in connection with other places. There is, however, one aspect of the harshness and cruelty of the fates to be recorded in the case of many of the Strathconon people, not applicable in many other cases, namely, that in most instances where they settled down and reclaimed land, they were afterwards re-evicted, and the lands brought into cultivation by themselves, taken from them, without any compensation whatever; and given at enhanced rents to large farmers. This is specially true of those who settled down in the Black Isle, where they reclaimed a great deal of waste now making some of the best farms in that district. Next after Mr. Rose of Dingwall, the principal instrument in clearing Strathconon, was the late James Gillanders of Highfield, already so well and unfavourably known to the reader in connection with the evictions at Glencalvie [specially reported in the *Times*].¹

“It may be remarked that the Strathconon evictions are worthy of note for the forcible illustration they furnish of how, by these arbitrary and unexpected removals, hardships and ruin have frequently been brought on families and communities who were at the time in contented and comfortable circumstances. At one time, and previous to the earlier evictions, perhaps no glen of its size in the Highlands had a larger population than Strathconon. The club farm system, once so common in the North, seems to have been peculiarly successful there. Hence a large proportion of the people were well to do, but when suddenly called upon to give up their hill pasture, and afterwards their arable land, and in the absence of other suitable places to settle in, the means they had very soon disappeared, and the trials and difficulties of new conditions had to be encountered. As a rule, in most of these Highland evictions, the evicted were lost sight of, they having either emigrated to foreign lands or become absorbed in the ever-increasing unemployed population of the large towns. In the case of Strathconon it was different, as has been already stated; many of the families evicted were allowed to settle on some of the wildest unreclaimed land in the Black Isle. Their subsequent history there, and the excellent agricultural condition into which they in after years brought their small holdings, is a standing refutation of the charge so often made against the Highland people, that they are lazy and incapable of properly cultivating the land.

“Within recent times all the tenants to the east of Drynie, as far as Craigiehow, were turned out, one by one, to make room for one large tenant, Mr. Robertson, who had no less than four centres for

¹ See page 390.

“stackyards. A most prosperous tenantry were turned out to make room for him, and what is the end of it all! Mr. Robertson has come to grief as a farmer, and now holds a very humble position in the town of Inverness. The once famous names of Drum-na-marg and Moreton are now extinct, as well as the old tenantry whose forefathers farmed these places for generations. Nothing can better illustrate the cruel manner in which the ancient tenantry of the country have been treated than these facts; and special comment on the evictions from Strathconon and the Black Isle, after what has been said about others of a similar character, would be superfluous.”

So far Mr. Mackenzie, whose work was published long before there was any thought of Mr. Arthur Balfour becoming a “saviour of society.” He believes—rightly as it appears—that the number of the evicted from Strathconon was largely in excess of his estimate. This beautiful valley, some twenty miles long, is flanked by 80,000 acres of hill pasture, and previous to the evictions is said to have contained thirty-one inhabited townships. The Rev. John Mackenzie received a “call” there, signed by no less than 1,495 persons, all of whom were over fourteen years of age, and shortly afterwards began to build a church capable of accommodating 1,800 souls. But the trustees of Mr. Balfour, and later Mr. Balfour himself, coming into power, they cleared out the inhabitants of twenty-one townships to make room for big sheep farmers. In the course of the clearance many of the usual deeds of cruelty and ill-usage are alleged to have been perpetrated, of which no more than a few can be mentioned here. One Duncan Beaton, an old man, for instance, was taken out of his own house, and thrown into a hovel—*sabhal caol*—without food or fuel, where he died. John Cameron was put on a *slaod*—a rude kind of sledge—and dragged to a lonely bothy at Blarnabee, where he, also, was left to die. In the same place there was a very old woman, who, putting her back to the wall, obstinately refused to move out of her house even after her sons had yielded to “superior force” and left the premises. What was to be done? In Ireland, in the reign of Balfour *filis*, the Royal Irish Constabulary would help the emergency men to throttle or brain her. In Scotland, between 1840 and 1848, there was a more peaceful but not less efficacious process of ejectment in vogue. The Balfour-Gillanders crowbar brigade betook themselves outside to the end of the house where the wind blew strongest, and fired it!

Mr. Balfour’s family records must have greatly facilitated the process of eviction in Ireland. The Scottish emergency men

were well supplied with every modern appliance necessary to their murderous calling. The "couples" of the doomed houses were nearly sawn through, so that if any poor wretch ventured to crawl inside for shelter, it was at the risk of having the "cabers" to fall upon and crush him. Again, in 1853, at the time of the Knoydart evictions in Skye by the Glengarry trustees, when several persons were too ill to be removed, the evictors pressed for summary expulsion notwithstanding, having taken the precaution to secure the attendance of an emergency doctor—provided, doubtless, with a galvanic battery—to meet such eventualities. As is not uncommonly the case, however, the cupidity which inspired this savage work failed in its object. A number of the big sheep farmers were bankrupt in succession, until it became advisable to convert seven-eighths of the Strathconon property into a deer forest. The whole is now laid out so as to give the following singular results, as shown by the Valuation Roll for the County of Ross, 1889-90. With the exception of some servants engaged in the shootings and remaining sheep farms, the present population (and valuation) are as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
1 minister	8	0	0
5 labourers' rents amounting to	12	15	0
16 crofters' (£3, 10s. to £15) amounting to	130	5	0
4 farmers' (£50, £70, £75, and £100)	295	0	0

Thus a total number of 25 families have a rent value of £446 only for the present Mr. Balfour, while the rest of his property is disposed of amongst :—

	£	s.	d.
2 absentee sheep farmers at a rental of	766	0	0
4 absentee sportsmen	2,225	0	0
1 absentee landlord	295	0	0
1 factor (£10) and 1 absentee cottar (£5)	15	0	0
Total	£3,301	0	0

We have here, then, honest, reproductive industry accommodated with a rent value of 12 per cent. only, while sheep and sport monopolise not less than 88 per cent. of the Chief Secretary's £3,747 a year out of Strathconon. It is scarcely necessary to add that the unfortunate crofters occupy but the poorest part of the strath, and having no hill pasture, they are more or less dependent for their support on the sportsmen. But where are the 1,495 persons who signed Mr. Mackenzie's "call," or the 1,800 souls for whom

he provided church accommodation in that lovely valley? *The man who is in possession of their inheritance should know.* The curse of Balfour, and the vengeance of Gillanders, pursued them from Strathconon to the Black Isle, and thence, in many cases, across the Atlantic, there too often resulting in hardship, disease, and death. The survivors, who would at one time have shed their blood like water for queen and country, are now chiefly to be found in other lands expatriated for evermore, singing in mournful cadence to a favourite Scottish air:—

“From the dim shieling on the misty island,
Mountains divide us and a world of seas,
But still our hearts are true, our hearts are Highland,
And in our dreams we view the Hebrides.
Tall are these mountains, and these woods are grand,
But we are exiled from our father's land.”

The *Times*—aye the *Times*—to its lasting honour be it told, shall inform us presently of the probable number of the outraged victims of those precious twin exterminators, for whom honest Hugh Latimer, in a more plain-speaking age, would have predicted, as their just portion, “the greedy pit of the hell-burning fire.”

Many other Scottish proprietors might be mentioned here in connection with the clearance system. In some cases, however, as in Lewis, Uist, &c., where the people are at war with their landlords, one may be well excused shrinking from the responsibility of even naming such proprietors in the circumstances. Great cruelties were perpetrated, in 1845, at Glencalvie, Ross-shire, where the evicted had to retire to the churchyard, to find the only shelter obtainable in their native land, no persons daring to succour them, under a threat of receiving similar treatment themselves. A Special Commissioner sent down by the *Times*, writing from Ardgay, near Tain, Ross-shire, on the 20th of May in that year, said:—

“Those who remember the misery and destitution into which large ‘masses’ of the population were thrown by the systematic ‘Clearances’ (as they are here called) carried on in Sutherlandshire some twenty years ago, under the direction and on the estate of the late Marchioness of Stafford—those who have not forgotten to what an extent the ancient ties which bound clansmen to their chiefs were then torn asunder—will regret to learn the heartless source with all its sequences of misery, of destitution, and of crime, is again being resorted to in Ross-shire. Amongst an imaginative people like the Highlanders, who, poetic from dwelling amongst wild and romantic scenery, shut out from the world and clinging

“to the traditions of the past, it requires little, with fair treatment,
 “to make them almost idolise their heritor. They would spend the
 “last drop of their blood in his service. But this feeling of respectful
 “attachment to the landowners, which money cannot buy, is fast
 “passing away. This change is not without cause; and perhaps if
 “the dark deeds of calculating ‘feelosophy’ transacted through the
 “instrumentality of factors in some of these lonely glens; if the
 “almost inconceivable misery and hopeless destitution in which, for
 “the expected acquisition of a few pounds, hundreds of peaceable
 “and generally industrious and contented peasants are driven out
 “from the means of self-support to become wanderers and starving
 “beggars, and in which a brave and valuable population is destroyed
 “—are exposed to the gaze of the world, general indignation and
 “disgust may effect what moral obligations and humanity cannot.
 “One of these clearances is about to take place in the parish of
 “Kincardine, from which I now write; and throughout the whole
 “district it has created the strongest feeling of indignation. This
 “parish is divided into two districts, each of great extent; one is
 “called the parliamentary district of Croick. The length of this
 “district is about twenty miles, with a breadth of from ten to fifteen
 “miles. It extends amongst the most remote and unfrequented
 “parts of the country, consisting chiefly of hills of heather and rock,
 “peopled only in a few straths and glens. This district was former-
 “ly thickly peopled; but one of those clearances many years
 “ago nearly swept away the population, and now the whole number
 “of its inhabitants amounts, I am told, to only 370 souls. These are
 “divided into three straths or glens, and live in a strath called
 “Amatnatua, another strath called Greenyard, and in Glencalvie.
 “It is the inhabitants of Glencalvie, in number ninety people, whose
 “turn it is now to be turned out of their homes, all at once, the
 “aged and the helpless as well as the young and strong; nearly the
 “whole of them without hope or prospect for the future. The pro-
 “prietor of this glen is Major Charles Robertson of Kindeace, who
 “is at present out with his regiment in Australia; and his factor or
 “steward who acts for him in his absence is Mr. James Gillanders
 “of Highfield Cottage, near Dingwall. Glencalvie is situated about
 “twenty-five miles from Tain, eastward. Bleak rough hills, whose
 “surface is almost all rock and heather, closed in on all sides, leaving
 “in the valley a gentle declivity of arable land of a very poor de-
 “scription, dotted over by cairns of stone and rock, not, at the utmost
 “computation, of more than fifteen to twenty acres in extent. For
 “this piece of indifferent land with a right of pasturage on the hills
 “impinging upon it—and on which, if it were not a fact that sheep
 “do live, you would not credit that they could live, so entirely does
 “it seem devoid of vegetation beyond the brown heather, whilst
 “its rocky nature makes it dangerous and impossible even for a sheep
 “walk—the almost incredible rent of £55, 10s. has been paid. I
 “am convinced that for the same land no farmer in England would
 “give £15 at the utmost. And for what are all these people to be

“reduced from comfort to beggary? For what is this virtuous and contented community to be scattered? I confess I can find no answer. It is said that the factor would rather have one tenant than many, as it saves him trouble! But so long as the rent is punctually paid as this has been, it is contrary to all experience to suppose that one large tenant will pay more rent than many small ones, or that a sheep walk can pay more rent than cultivated land.

“Let me add that so far from the clearance at Glencalvie being a solitary instance in this neighbourhood, it is one of many. The tenants of Newmore, near Tain, who, I am told, amount to sixteen families, are to be weeded out (as they express it here) on the 25th, by the same Mr. Gillanders. The same factor manages the Strathconon estate [the property of Mr. Balfour, father of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland], about thirty miles from Newmore, *from which, during the last four years, some hundreds of families have been weeded out.* The Government Church of that district, built eighteen years ago, to meet the necessities of the population, is now almost unnecessary from the want of population. At Black Isle, near Dingwall, the same agent is pursuing the same course, and so strong is the feeling of the poor Highlanders at these outrageous proceedings, so far as they are concerned, wholly unwarranted from any cause whatever, that I am informed on the best authority, and by those who go amongst them and hear what they say, that it is owing to the influence of religion alone that they refrain from breaking out into open and turbulent resistance of the law.”

THE MASSACRE OF THE ROSSES.

“Say, can thy soul of honour brook,
On the unequal strife to look.”

A terrible affray took place on another property of Robertson some nine years later (March 1854), in the course of which more than twenty respectable women suffered brutal ill-treatment at the hands of double the number of drunken policemen, acting under the direction of the same Balfour-Robertson factor, Gillanders, when attempting to defend their humble homes against robbery and violence. It is commonly described in Scottish agrarian literature as *The Massacre of the Rosses*, and reads exactly like those experiments in maintaining “law and order,” which are of such frequent occurrence in Ireland at this time under the present Mr. Balfour. In a *Sermon for the Times*, the Rev. Richard Hibbs, of the Episcopal Church, Edinburgh, referring to these evictions, says:—

“Take first the awful proof of how far in oppression men can go —men highly educated and largely gifted in every way—property, talents, all; for the most part, indeed, they are so-called noblemen.

“What, then, are they doing in the Highland districts, according to the testimony of a learned professor in this city? Why, depopulating those districts in order to make room for red deer. And how? by buying off the cottars, and giving them money to emigrate. Not at all, but by starving them out; by rendering them absolutely incapable of procuring subsistence for themselves and families; for they first take away from them their apportionments of poor lands, although they may have paid their rents; and if that don’t suffice to eradicate from their hearts that love of the soil on which they have been born and bred—a love which the great Proprietor of all has manifestly implanted in our nature—why, then, these inhuman landlords, who are far more merciful to their very beasts, take away from these poor cottars the very roofs above their defenceless heads, and expose them, worn down with age, and destitute of everything, to the inclemencies of a northern sky; and this, forsooth, because they must have plenty of room for their dogs and deer. For plentiful instances of the most wanton barbarities under this head we need only point to the Knoydart evictions. Here were perpetrated such enormities as might well have caused the very sun to hide his face at noon-day.

“I hold in my hand,” Mr. Hibbs continued, “a little work entitled *The Massacre of the Rosses*, which has passed into the second edition. The author, Mr. Donald Ross—a gentleman whom all who feel sympathy for the down-trodden and oppressed must highly esteem. What a humiliating picture of the barbarity and cruelty of fallen humanity does this little book present! The reader, utterly appalled by its horrifying statements, finds it difficult to retain the recollection that he is perusing the history of his own times, and country too. He would fain yield himself to the tempting illusion that the ruthless atrocities which are depicted were enacted in a fabulous period, in ages long past; or at all events, if it be contemporaneous history, that the scene of such heartrending cruelties, the perpetrators of which were regardless alike of the innocence of infancy and the helplessness of old age, is some far distant, and as yet not merely unchristianised but wholly savage and uncivilised region of our globe. But alas! it is Scotland, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, of which he treats. One feature of the heart-harrowing case is the shocking and barbarous cruelty that was practised on this occasion upon the female portion of the evicted clan. Mr. D. Ross, in a letter addressed to the Right Hon. the Lord Advocate, Edinburgh, dated April 19, 1854, thus writes in reference to one of those clearances and evictions which had just then taken place, under the authority of a certain sheriff of the district, and by means of a body of policemen as executioners:—‘The feeling on this subject, not only in the district, but in Sutherlandshire and Ross-shire is, among the great majority of the people, one of universal condemnation of the sheriff’s reckless conduct, and of indignation and disgust at the brutality of the policemen. Such, indeed, was the sad havoc made on the females [endeavouring to prevent service

"of notices to quit] on the banks of the Carron, on the memorable
 "31st March last, that pools of blood were on the ground—that the
 "grass and earth were dyed red with it—that the dogs of the district
 "came and licked up the blood ; and at last, such was the state of
 "feeling of parties who went from a distance to see the field, that a
 "party (it is understood by order or instructions from headquarters)
 "actually harrowed the ground during the night to hide the blood !"

"The affair at Greenyard," Mr. Hibbs added, "on the morning of
 "the 31st March last, is not calculated to inspire much love of
 "country, or rouse the martial spirit of the already ill-used High-
 "landers. The savage treatment of innocent females on that morn-
 "ing, by an enraged body of police, throws the Sinope butchery into
 "the shade ; for the Ross-shire Haynaus have shown themselves
 "more cruel and more bloodthirsty than the Austrian women-
 "floggers. What could these poor men and women—with their
 "wounds, and scars, and broken bones, and disjoined arms, stretched
 "on beds of sickness, or moving on crutches, the result of the brutal
 "treatment of them by the police at Greenyard—have to dread from
 "the invasion of Scotland by Russia ?"

The parallel official brutalities occurring in Scotland and Ireland are remarkable. At Belmullet, in the latter country, a crowd of peasant men, women, and children was fired into in 1881, by drunken policemen, under precisely similar circumstances ; with the result that several persons were killed or wounded, including a beautiful peasant girl stabbed to death. In company with Mr. Frank Bussy, an English correspondent of the Central News, and a clever young Irish journalist named Moore, the present writer investigated the circumstances on the spot. When the dying girl lay on the cabin floor weltering in her blood, attended by an imbecile brother, in their blindness the police actually arrested the latter for this mark of filial devotion, on the pretence that he was resisting the law. In their fury, too, they threw upon the fire a little pig which had run into the cabin terrified by the firing, thus nearly setting the premises in a blaze. A coroner's jury brought in a verdict of murder against the police, but, as is usual in such cases, the Government of the day got the verdict quashed. Had the case gone before a superior court, however, the result would have been precisely the same. The jury would have been *packed* to the exclusion of even a sympathetic Quaker therefrom ; the surest way to further legal preferment in Ireland being to show cleverness in manipulating a jury panel so as to secure a verdict for the crown, as the present Attorney-General has found to his advantage. The bench, not the dock, is the reward of such unscrupulousness there.

SOLITUDINEM FACIUNT, FORESTAM APPELLANT.

The *Highland Sportsman* (third edition, 1884), a publication now defunct, having been killed, probably, by its excessive candour in printing such dangerous matter, supplies the following interesting statistical tables for the information of the political economist and philanthropist in the year of our Lord 1889 :—

Area, Population, Valuation, &c., of the Scottish Highlands.

County.	Area in Acres.	Acres Cultivated.	Estimated Area under Deer.	Population.	Valuation.	Estimated Value of Shootings Let.
Aberdeen	1,260,624	573,189	155,000	268,365	£1,348,372	£31,000
Argyll	2,083,126	120,522	165,000	76,604	517,926	34,000
Banff	439,219	157,353	30,000	61,313	241,486	7,500
Caithness	455,708	100,853	50,000	39,859	160,342	11,000
Dumbarton	172,677	41,877	1,000	78,182	471,700	4,000
Elgin	340,000	104,149	....	44,250	228,051	12,000
Forfar	569,840	235,613	51,000	266,020	1,499,703	16,500
Inverness	2,723,501	114,986	710,000	90,546	431,326	91,000
Kincardine	248,284	116,912	....	35,465	269,070	6,000
Nairn	137,500	24,494	....	8,447	43,729	2,100
Perth	1,664,690	338,845	97,000	128,884	1,111,262	75,000
Ross and Crom-						
arty	2,016,375	122,248	760,000	74,467	320,530	59,000
Sutherland	1,207,188	23,126	136,000	22,376	108,837	25,000
Total	13,318,733	2,074,167	2,155,000	1,194,788	£6,752,393	£374,100

The Deer Forests, their Acreage, Proprietors, &c.

Name of Forest.	County.	Proprietor.	Tenant.	Estimated Extent in Acres.
Glenmuick	Aberdeen	J. T. Mackenzie, Esq.	Proprietor	20,000
Glentamar	"	Marquis of Huntly, K.T.	W.C. Brooks, Esq., M.P.	20,000
Invercauld	"	Colonel Farquharson	Proprietor	30,000
Mar	"	Duke of Fife, K.T.	"	60,000
Achdaliaw	Argyll ..	Lochiel, M.P.	R. A. French Brewster, Esq., M.P.	12,000
Ardtornish	"	J. Valentine Smith, Esq.	Proprietor	15,000
Blackmount	"	Marquis of Breadalbane	Daniel Cooper, Esq. ..	70,000
Conaglen	"	Earl of Morton	Proprietor	19,000
Dalness	"	Dugald Stuart, Esq. ..	"	6,000
Jura	"	J. Campbell, Esq. of Jura	Henry Evans, Esq. ..	27,000
Glenfiddich	Banff	Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G.	Proprietor	15,000
Glenavon	"	"	Lord R. Grosvenor, M.P. ¹	15,000
Langwell	Caithness	Duke of Portland	Proprietor	50,000
Bachnagairn	Forfar ..	J. T. Mackenzie, Esq.	"	See Glenmuick

¹ Now Lord Stalbridge (see page 399).

The Deer Forests, their Acreage, Proprietors, &c.—continued.

Name of Forest.	County.	Proprietor.	Tenant.	Estimated Extent in Acres.	
Caanlochan	Forfar ..	Earl of Airlie	J. Clifton Brown, Esq.	9,161	
Glencally	"	Sir J. G. S. Kinloch, Bt.	Colonel Laurie	3,000	
Glendoll	"	J. Gurney, Esq.	Proprietor	6,000	
Invermark	"	Earl of Dalhousie . . .	Sir R. B. Harvey, Bt., M.P.	25,000	
Abernethy	Inverness	Earl of Seafield	Sir Henry Allsopp, Bt.	25,000	
Achnacarry	"	Lochiel, M.P.	Proprietor	6,000	
Affarie	"	The Chisholm	Lord Tweedmouth . .	15,000	
Amhuinsuidh (Harris)	"	Repr. of late Sir E. H. Scott, Bt.	Proprietor	42,000	
Ardverikie	"	Sir J. Ramsden, Bt., M.P.	"	28,000	
Arisaig	"	Mrs. Nicholson	Viscount Kilcourseie .	3,000	
Balmacaan	"	Earl of Seafield	Bradley Martin, Esq.	28,000	
Benalder	"	Sir J. Ramsden, Bt., M.P.	Lord Manners	30,000	
Ceanacroc	"	The Grant Trustees . .	Sir H. B. Meux, Bt. . .	33,000	
Corriehollie	"	Lord Abinger	Sir R. Wallace	9,000	
Craskie	"	The Chisholm	W. L. Winans, Esq. . .	10,000	
Fa-nakyle	"	"	"	15,000	
Gaick	"	Sir "Geo. "Macpherson Grant, M.P.	John Hargreaves, Esq.	25,000	
Glencannich . . .	"	The Chisholm	W. L. Winans, Esq. . .	12,000	
Glendoe	"	Lord Lovat	G. H. Thompson, Esq.	2,200	
Glenfeshie	"	Sir Geo. Macpherson Grant, M.P., and The Mackintosh	Sir Charles Mordaunt Proprietor	39,000	
Guisachan	"	Lord Tweedmouth . . .	Mrs. Ellice	14,000	
Glengarry	"	Trustees, E. Ellice, Esq.	Sir M. A. Bass, Bt., M.P.	16,000	
Glen Kingie	"	Lochiel, M.P.	Sir Henry Allsopp, Bt., M.P.	13,000	
Glenmore	"	Duke of Richmond and Gordon	W. L. Winans, Esq. . .	50,000	
Glenstrathfarar .	"	Lord Lovat	Sir M. A. Bass, Bt., M.P.	33,000	
Glen Quoich . . .	"	Trustees, E. Ellice, Esq.	A. Dennistoun, Esq. . .	22,000	
Glenvornmoriston .	"	The Grant Trustees . .	A. F. Thistlethwayte, Esq.	40,000	
Kinloch and Ben- evrie	"	Mrs. Cameron Campbell, and Lochiel, M.P. . .	Reprs. of late Earl of Stamford	8,500	
Kinrara and part of Glenfeshie. . .	"	The Mackintosh and Sir G. Macpherson- Grant, Bt., M.P. . .	Sir Greville Smythe, Bt.	10,000	
Kinvcachie	"	Earl of Seafield	Proprietor	18,000	
Knoydart	"	John Baird, Esq. . . .	Earl of Dunmore . . .	15,000	
Luskentyre	"	Dowager-Countess of Dunmore	C. T. Kettlewell, Esq.	40,000	
Macdonald (Skye)	"	Lord Macdonald	Proprietor	1,600	
Morar	"	Lord Lovat	F. T. Rufford, Esq. . .	15,000	
Portclair and Auchterawe . . .	"	"	Sir C. Lampson, Bt. . .	18,000	
Rothiemurchus . .	"	Sir J. P. Grant	Proprietor	4,300	
Urchany	"	Lord Lovat	"	50,000	
Athole	Perth. . .	Duke of Athole, K.T. .	"	15,000	
Glenartney	"	Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby	Lord Aveland	8,000	
Glenbruar	"	Duke of Athole, K.T. .	W. O. Dalglish, Esq.	Messrs. Cunninghame & Merry	14,000
Fealar	"	"	Earls Brownlow and Cowper	10,000	
Rannoch.	"	Sir Robert Menzies, Bt.	A. Bignold, Esq. . . .	5,200	
Achanault	Ross and Cromarty	Charles M'Kenzie, Esq., of Kilcoy	Colonel Brown, M.P. .	11,000	
Achnasheen	"	"	"	"	

The Deer Forests, their Acreage, Proprietors, &c.—continued.

Name of Forest.	County.	Proprietor.	Tenant.	Estimated Extent in Acres.
Achnashellach, Coulin, &c.	Ross and Cromarty	Lord Wimborne	Proprietor	50,000
Aline		Lady Matheson of Lews	W. H. Brancker, Esq.	12,000
Alladale		Reprs. late Sir C. W. A. Ross, Bt.	William Weir, Esq.	27,000
Amat		George Ross, Esq.	Robert Loder, Esq.	931
Applecross		Lord Middleton	J. A. Platt, Esq.	50,000
Attadale		Sir A. Matheson, Bt., M.P.	Major Cresswell	14,000
Ben Damp and Torridon		Duncan Darroch, Esq.	Proprietor	28,000
Ben Wyvis		Colin G. Ross, Esq.	Edward Ross and James Eckersley, Esqrs.	13,500
Braemore		John Fowler, Esq.	Proprietor	25,000
Clunie		J. E. B. Baillie, Esq.	J. Spender Clay, Esq.	12,600
Corryhallie		G. F. Gilanders	F. T. and W. Shoolbred, Esq.	6,605
Coulmore		Duchess of Sutherland	Unlet in 1883	30,000
Deanich		Reprs. of late Sir C. W. A. Ross, Bt.	J. C. Williams, Esq.	15,000
Diebidale		Sir A. Matheson, Bt., M.P.	Robert Loder, Esq.	10,000
Dundonnell		H. Mackenzie, Esq.	Major Platt	20,000
Fannich		Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bt.	Lord Ormathwaite	14,000
Flowerdale		The Chisholm	S. W. Clowes, Esq.	7,500
Glassletter		Charles Robertson, Esq.	W. L. Winans, Esq.	7,000
Glencalvie		C. J. Murray, Esq.	R. Loder, Esq.	4,600
Glenshiel daig		Sir A. Matheson, Bt., M.P.	Proprietor	13,000
Glomach		Col. D. H. C. R. Davidson	W. L. Winans, Esq.	8,000
Inchbae, &c.		Sir A. G. R. Mackenzie, Bt.	Colonel Leyland	30,000
Inverlael		R. C. M. Ferguson, Esq.	A. H. Tenant, Esq.	14,000
Kildermorie		Sir A. Matheson, Bt., M.P.	J. S. Clay, Esq.	21,000
Killilan, &c.		Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bt.	W. L. Winans, Esq.	10,000
Kinlochewe		Lady Ashburton	A. H. Brown, Esq.	24,200
Kinlochulchart		J. T. Mackenzie, Esq.	Proprietrix	23,000
Kintail		P. Llot Bankes, Esq.	W. L. Winans, Esq.	11,000
Letterewe and Fisherfield		The Chisholm	C. Perkins, Esq.	48,000
Luibnadamp		John Stirling, Esq.	W. L. Winans, Esq.	550
Monar		Lady Matheson of Lews	Proprietor	20,000
Morsgall		Sir A. Matheson, Bt., M.P.	H. H. Jones, Esq.	36,000
Park		Sir A. G. R. Mackenzie, Bt., and Thos. Mackenzie, Esq., of Ord.	Unlet in 1883	55,000
Pat and Riochan		Duchess of Sutherland	W. L. Winans, Esq.	7,500
Rhidorroch		Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bt.	Captain Starkey	25,000
Shieldaig		A. J. Balfour, Esq., M.P.	John Beatson, Esq., and Marquis of Bristol	6,000
Strathconon		Sir A. G. R. Mackenzie, Bt., and Thos. Mackenzie, Esq., of Ord.	E. C. Guinness, Esq.	27,500
Strathvaich		Duke of Sutherland, K.G.	Frank Morrison, Esq.	22,000
Ben Armin	Sutherland	"	H. Chaplin, Esq., M.P.	22,600
Dunrobin		"	Proprietor	11,200
Glencanisp		"	Lord Cloncurry	35,000
Reay		"	Duke of Westminster, K.G.	70,000

The same admirable *Highland Sportsman*, now, alas! out of print, also supplies the following interesting list:—

The Great Landowners of the Highlands.

	Extent owned in Acres.		Extent owned in Acres.
Duke of Sutherland, K.G.	1,326,453	Arch. A. L. Campbell, Esq. of Lochnell	39,000
Marquis of Breadalbane	438,358	C. S. Home Drummond Moray, Esq.	38,797
Lady Matheson, of Lewa	424,560	Sir W. Gordon Cumming, Bart.	38,499
Earl of Seafield	305,930	Appin Trust	37,345
Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G.	269,292	Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart.	36,597
Duke of Fife, K.T.	234,220	Col. Davidson of Tulloch	36,130
Sir Alexander Matheson, Bart., M.P.	220,663	C. G. Campbell, Esq. of Stonefield . .	35,186
Duke of Athole, K.T.	201,640	Sir John Macleod of Glendale	35,022
Lord Lovat	181,791	F. Campbell, Esq. of Rum and Tenga	35,000
Duke of Argyll, K.T.	175,114	Sir A. D. Stewart, Bart.	33,274
Lady Ross, of Balnagown	165,445	C. J. Murray, Esq. of Loch Carron . .	32,450
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, Bart.	164,680	Duncan Darroch, Esq. of Torridon . .	32,000
Norman Macleod, Esq. of Macleod . .	141,679	Earl of Mansfield, K.T.	31,197
Sir John Ramaden, Bart., M.P.	138,000	Col. D. R. Williamson, of Lawers . .	30,094
Earl of Dalhousie	136,602	J. B. Sheriff, Esq. of Kingairloch . .	30,000
Lord Macdonald	129,919	John Bullough, Esq. of Meggernie . .	30,000
Donald Cameron, Esq. of Lochiel, M.P.	125,574	Sir Chas. J. Forbes, Bart. of Newe . .	29,238
Sir G. Macpherson-Grant, Bart., M.P.	125,443	Lady Louisa Ashburton	28,556
A. D. Mackintosh, Esq. of Mackintosh .	124,181	Miss Atley of Arisaig	27,960
J. S. Chisholm, Esq. of Chisholm . .	113,255	G. Duff Dunbar, Esq. of Hempriggs .	26,880
Lady Gordon Cathcart, of Cluny . . .	111,169	M. G. MacLaine, Esq. of Lochbuy . .	26,843
Col. Farquharson, of Invercauld . . .	107,800	C. J. B. Macpherson, Esq. of Belleville	26,773
Mrs. Ellice, of Glengarry	99,545	E. C. Sutherland, Esq. of Skibo	26,500
Sir Robert Menzies, Bart.	98,284	Earl of Kintore	25,423
Evan Baillie, Esq. of Dochfour	92,640	Col. Macdonald of St. Martins	25,403
Duke of Portland	90,677	T. H. G. Newton, Esq., and Rev. H. Newton of Glencreevesdale	25,000
Sir J. W. P. Campbell Orde, Bart. . . .	85,745	H. A. Grant, Esq. of Wester Elchies . .	24,674
Marquis of Huntly, K.T.	85,560	Curators of Kilcoy	24,658
Mrs. Cameron Campbell, of Fassifern .	83,500	John Campbell, Esq. of Strachur . . .	24,593
Sir J. G. Toilemache Sinclair, Bart., M.P.	78,053	Sir John P. Grant, Bart. of Rothie-murchus, K.C.B.	24,457
Glenmoriston Trustees	77,567	Lt.-Col. C. G. Gardyne, of Glenforra .	24,078
Lady Willoughby d'Eresby	76,837	Mrs. Robertson, sen., of Struan . . .	24,000
Earl of Dunmore	74,000	J. A. Macdonald, Esq. of Glenaladale	24,000
J. T. Mackenzie, Esq. of Kintail	72,429	Alexander Brodie, Esq. of Lethen . . .	23,682
A. J. Balfour, Esq. of Strathconon, M.P.	71,778	Lt.-Col. Ferguson of Pitfour	23,130
Earl of Moray	71,111	A. C. Guthrie, Esq. of Duart	23,012
Colonel Walker, of Inverlair	70,940	Earl of Strathmore	22,870
Earl of Airrie	69,875	Earl of Southesk, K.T.	22,669
Mrs. Liot Bankes, of Letterewe	69,800	J. C. Cunningham, Esq. of Foyers . .	22,506
Sir James Colquhoun, Bart.	67,041	David Carnegie, Esq. of Stronvar . . .	22,205
Charles Morrison, Esq. of Islay	67,000	Thos. Valentine Smith, Esq. of Acharanach	22,050
John Baird, Esq. of Knoydart	67,000	Donald Ogilvy, Esq. of Clova	21,893
H. Mackenzie, Esq. of Dundonnell . .	64,355	T. Mackenzie, Esq. of Ord	21,229
Lord Middleton	63,000	Major-General Macdonald, of Dun-	
Earl of Aberdeen	62,422	alister	21,000
Lord Wimborne	60,000	Colonel L. Macpherson, of Glentruim	21,000
Heir, late Sir E. H. Scott, Bart. . . .	59,125	Alex. Fordyce, Esq. of Brucklay . . .	20,949
W. S. Thomson Sinclair, Esq.	57,757	James Small, Esq. of Dirnanear	20,454
J. J. Daigleish, Esq. of Ardnamurchan	57,400	A. T. F. Fraser, Esq. of Abertarff . . .	20,063
R. C. Munro Ferguson, Esq. of Novar .	45,484	Mrs. Mary Cameron, of Barcaldino . .	20,000
James Campbell, Esq. of Jura	55,000		
Sir R. S. Riddell, Bart. of Strontian .	54,418		
John Ramsay, Esq. of Kildalton, M.P.	54,250		
G. F. W. Callander, Esq. of Ardkinglas	51,670		
Earl of Cawdor	50,119		
Earl of Morton	49,814		
John Fowler, Esq. of Braemore	47,148		
Capt. W. Fraser, of Kilmuir	46,142		
Sir Thos. Gladstone, Bart.	45,062		
Sir A. G. R. Mackenzie, Bart. of Coull	43,189		
Cluny Macpherson, C.B.	42,000		
A. T. Maclean, Esq. of Ardgower . . .	40,000		
Lord Abinger	39,414		

These returns do not include the lands possessed by many of the great landowners of the Highlands in other parts of the United Kingdom, and in a number of instances it gives only a moiety of their actual possessions. Take, for example, the Duke of Portland, who is returned as holding 90,677 acres in the Highlands, but whose total acreage is 171,307.

That richly - endowed young duke, whose predecessors in the title are said, like Sir Tollemache Sinclair, Bart., to have indulged not a little in the sport of eviction in Caithness, lately warned his Scottish tenantry against unpatriotic "professional agitators," who are only seeking the "disintegration of the empire." The Duke of Westminster, a few years before, speaking at a meeting in Chester, evoked cheers and laughter by stretching out a rather shrunken arm to emphasise the fact that he proposed assisting the Almighty with this attenuated emblem of British power in defeating Mr. Gladstone's wicked machinations against the State. Pray take a peep behind the scenes, and you will find from the foregoing tables that the Duke of Portland owns 50,000 acres and the Duke of Westminster rents 120,000 acres of deer forest in Caithness and Sutherland respectively ; fit sport for Lucullus surely. Look again, and you will find Mr. Winans, an American, renting 130,550 acres, though one might imagine him contented with trotting horses in New York ; as one might imagine the Messrs. F. T. and W. Shoolbreds sufficiently amused by the "running deer" for a target in the back gardens of Tottenham Court Road. Look once more, and you will find Mr. Arthur Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, letting 27,500 acres of deer forest in Strathconon, depopulated by his father, to Sir Cecil Guinness, the great Dublin brewer. Messrs. Bass and Allsopp, Meux and Perkins, are there too, of course. And it is but in accordance with the fitness of things that untitled Robertsons and Gillanders should figure in the same list with an unaristocratic Balfour ; for they are neighbours and have associations and instincts in common with the Argylls and Sutherlands and Ramsdens, who have broken the hearts or drawn tears from the eyes of the poor. But there is just one thing that is intolerable, which makes one lose all patience, and that is the effrontery of Lords Hartington and Salisbury in talking of maintaining law and order in Ireland, to avert the "disintegration of the empire." In reality, we know that they are but anxiously engaged in a series of brutal efforts to trample out the fire in that country, to prevent its wildly spreading to the Scotch heather, which encircles the sweet pastures in the almost depopulated straths and glens of Scotland. Did ever a meaner motive animate the minds of men than that which is laid bare in these statistical tables as inspiring the truculent Camarilla which now fills the Council Chamber of the Sovereign ? Look where you will through the list, and it reveals the same vulgar lesson. Lord R. Grosvenor, now Lord Stalbridge (the Duke of Westminster's brother), must needs have 15,000 acres of a deer forest. He cannot live with-

out it. And so, to put down agrarian agitation, and stifle inquiry into the deerstalker's title to depopulate a kingdom for the purpose of securing him six weeks' annual shooting, he subscribes to the fund for suborning the Pigott forgeries.

The earlier evictors of the population in Scotland who drove the peasants from the cultivable straths and glens to the sea-shore, or beyond it, in order to make room for sheep, pleaded the public advantage as their excuse. There would be more food and clothing, they said, but the true effect of their system is shown in the fact that the amount spent for the relief of the poor increased from less than £300,000 in 1846 to more than £900,000 in 1881; while in the same period the population only increased from 2,770,000 to 3,627,000; so that pauperism has grown about nine times faster than population. And now it is no longer even with sheep we have to deal, as the enemies of mankind, but with wild animals having not even a fleece to their backs. Ajax was undoubtedly mad when he mistook a harmless flock of sheep for his enemies. But Scotchmen will never prove their sanity till they think likewise in regard to the deer, and drive them into the sea, as *feræ naturæ*. Mr. Russell Wallace, in his work already quoted, says:—

“The facts [in regard to Highland clearances] will possess, I feel sure, for many Englishmen an almost startling novelty; the tale of oppression and cruelty they reveal reads like one of those hideous stories peculiar to the dark ages, rather than a simple record of events happening in our own land and within the memory of the present generation. For a parallel to this monstrous power of the landowner, under which life and property are entirely at his mercy, we must go back to mediæval, or to the days when serfdom not having been abolished, the Russian noble was armed with despotic authority; while the more pitiful results of this landlord tyranny, the wide devastation of cultivated lands, the heartless burning of houses, the reckless creation of pauperism and misery, out of well-being and contentment, could only be expected under the rule of Turkish Sultans or greedy and cruel Pashas. Yet these cruel deeds have been perpetrated in one of the most beautiful portions of our native land. They are not the work of uncultured barbarians or of fanatic Moslems, but of so-called civilised and Christian men; and—worst feature of all—they are not due to any high-handed exercise of power beyond the law, but are strictly legal, are in many cases the acts of members of the Legislature itself, and, notwithstanding that they have been repeatedly made known for at least sixty years past, no steps have been taken, or are even proposed to be taken, by the Legislature to prevent them for the future! Surely it is time that the people of England should declare that such things shall no longer exist—that the rich shall no longer have such

"legal power to oppress the poor—that the land shall be free for all who are willing to pay a fair value for its use—and, as this is not possible under landlordism, that landlordism shall be abolished.

"The fact that a whole population could be driven from their homes like cattle at the will of a landlord, and that the Government which taxed them, and for whom they freely shed their blood on the battlefield, neither would nor could protect them from cruel interference with their personal liberty, is surely the most convincing and most absolute demonstration of the incompatibility of landlordism with the elementary rights of a free people. As if, however, to prove this still more clearly, and to show how absolutely incompatible with the well-being of the community is modern landlordism, the great lords of the soil in Scotland have for the last twenty years or more been systematically laying waste enormous areas of land for purposes of sport, just as the Norman Conqueror laid waste the area of the New Forest for similar purposes. At the present time more than two million acres of Scottish soil are devoted to the preservation of deer alone—an area larger than the entire counties of Kent and Surrey combined. Glen Tilt Forest includes 100,000 acres; the Black Mount is sixty miles in circumference; and Ben Alder Forest is fifteen miles long by seven broad. On many of these forests there is the finest pasture in Scotland, while the valleys would support a considerable population of small farmers, yet all this land is devoted to the sport of the wealthy, farms being destroyed, houses pulled down, and men, sheep, and cattle all banished to create a wilderness for the deer-stalkers!"

Here is a specimen of the way in which the landlords of Scotland and Ireland (of whom a companion list will be found elsewhere)¹ treated their tenantry when forcing them to quit the much-loved land of their birth and their affection. It is taken from the *Quebec Times* of 1851:—

"We noticed in our last the deplorable condition of the 600 paupers who were sent to this country from the Kilrush Union [Ireland].² We have to-day a still more dismal picture to draw. Many of our readers may not be aware that there lives such a personage as Colonel Gordon, proprietor of large estates in South Uist and Barra, in the Highlands of Scotland; we are sorry to be obliged to introduce him to their notice, under circumstances which will not give them a very favourable opinion of his character and heart. It appears that his tenants on the above-mentioned estates were on the verge of starvation, and had probably become an eyesore to the gallant Colonel! He decided on shipping them to America. What they were to do there? was a question he never put to his conscience. Once landed in Canada, he had no further concern about them. Up to last week, some 1,100 souls from his

¹ At page 360.

² See page 268.

“ estates had landed at Quebec, and begged their way to Upper Canada ; when in the summer season, having only a daily morsel of food to procure, they probably escaped the extreme misery which seems to be the lot of those who followed them.

“ On their arrival here, they voluntarily made and signed the following statement :—‘ We, the undersigned passengers per *Admiral*, from Stornoway, in the Highlands of Scotland, do solemnly depose to the following facts :—That Colonel Gordon is proprietor of estates in South Uist and Barra ; that among many hundreds of tenants and cottars whom he has sent this season from his estates to Canada, he gave directions to his factor, Mr. Fleming, of Cluny Castle, Aberdeenshire, to ship on board of the above-named vessel a number of nearly 450 of said tenants and cottars, from the estate in Barra ; that accordingly, a great majority of these people, among whom were the undersigned, proceeded voluntarily to embark on board the *Admiral*, at Loch Boisdale, on or about the 11th August 1851 ; but that several of the people who were intended to be shipped for this port, Quebec, refused to proceed on board, and, in fact, absconded from their homes to avoid the embarkation. Whereupon Mr. Fleming gave orders to a policeman, who was accompanied by the ground-officer of the estate in Barra, and some constables, to pursue the people, who had run away, among the mountains ; which they did, and succeeded in capturing about twenty from the mountains and islands in the neighbourhood ; but only came with the officers on an attempt being made to handcuff them ; and that some who ran away were not brought back, in consequence of which four families at least have been divided, some having come in the ships to Quebec, while the other members of the same families are left in the Highlands.

“ ‘The undersigned further declare, that those who voluntarily embarked, did so under promises to the effect, that Colonel Gordon would defray their passage to Quebec ; that the Government Emigration Agent there would send the whole party free to Upper Canada, where, on arrival, the Government agents would give them work, and furthermore grant them land on certain conditions.

“ ‘The undersigned finally declare, that they are now landed in Quebec so destitute, that if immediate relief be not afforded them, and continued until they are settled in employment, the whole will be liable to perish with want.

(Signed)

“ ‘HECTOR LAMONT,
and seventy others.’

“ This is a beautiful picture ! Had the scene been laid in Russia or Turkey, the barbarity of the proceeding would have shocked the nerves of the reader ; but when it happens in Britain, emphatically the land of liberty, where every man’s house, even the hut of the poorest, is said to be his castle, the expulsion of these unfortunate creatures from their homes—the man-hunt with policemen and bailiffs—the violent separation of families—the parent torn from

"the child, the mother from her daughter, the infamous trickery practised on those who did embark—the abandonment of the aged, the infirm, women, and tender children, in a foreign land—forms a *tableau* which cannot be dwelt on for an instant without horror. Words cannot depict the atrocity of the deed. For cruelty less savage, the slave-dealers of the South have been held up to the execration of the world. And if, as men, the sufferings of these our fellow-creatures find sympathy in our hearts, as Canadians their wrongs concern us more dearly. The fifteen hundred souls whom Colonel Gordon has sent to Quebec this season, have all been supported for the past week at least, and conveyed to Upper Canada at the expense of the colony, and on their arrival in Toronto and Hamilton, the greater number have been dependent on the charity of the benevolent for a morsel of bread. Four hundred are in the river at present, and will arrive in a day or two, making a total of nearly 2,000 of Colonel Gordon's tenants and cottars whom the province will have to support. The winter is at hand, work is becoming scarce in Upper Canada. Where are these people to find food?"

Of course, as might have been expected, many of the Highlanders shipped for Canada never reached land. Some of the Highland emigrant-ships have been described as "rotten." Pieces of the wood might be picked out of their sides, it was said. The Rev. Finlay Cook, of Reay, observing two such vessels leaving Thurso Harbour on one occasion, laden with the usual human cargo, exclaimed prophetically, "There go two more funeral processions!" Both went to the bottom of the Atlantic, with every soul on board. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the author of the *History of the Highland Clearances*, already quoted, has described, in the course of a series of graphic letters addressed to the *Aberdeen Free Press*, during a tour made by him in Canada some years ago, how a third Highland emigrant-ship took fire by neglect on the voyage between Quebec and Montreal, when, of 400 souls on board—men, women, and children—all but seventy-six were either burnt alive or more mercifully drowned. In one of his speeches a year or two back, Mr. John Morley described the fate of the Irish under the present *régime* as "Manacles or Manitoba." But the Scottish landlords often left out the "or," and provided their unhappy victims, after pursuit by dogs—as at Barra, Rassay, and elsewhere—with Manacles *and* Manitoba. Nor can it be pretended that this unique system of compulsory emigration only found favour under a Tory administration, since it is impossible to imagine that Liberal governments were entirely excluded from office throughout the long dismal period now under review. Indeed, it must in strict truth be added further, in regard to this question of the land in Scotland, that there is not a pin to

choose between the cruelty of Whig and Tory landlords. Between them they have impartially crucified the Queen's subjects in the Highlands, and dried up the sources of Her Majesty's naval and military strength there. With similar impartiality they should be brought to strict account before the bar of public opinion, and unflinchingly required to make restitution for their wrong-doing to the State as well as to the people. As for those whom they have banished, who are still alive, there is little hope of their returning :—

“Where are they now? Tell us where are thy sons and thy daughters,
 Scotland! sad mother! no more in thy bosom they dwell;
 Far, far away they have found a new home o'er the waters,
 Yearning for thee with a love that no language can tell.
 Nimrods and hunters are now lords of mountain and forest,
 Men but encumber the soil where their forefathers trod;
 Tho' for their country they fought when its need was the sorest,
 Forth they must wander, their hope not in man, but in God.”

WHAT THE HIGHLANDERS HAVE DONE TO DESERVE SUCH TREATMENT.

We are dealing with a race of men of whom the sovereign herself never speaks except with pride and admiration. This is how the Queen refers to them and their beautiful country in her *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*. Her Majesty is departing for the South :—

“At a quarter past eight o'clock we started, and were very, very
 “sorry to leave Blair and the dear Highlands! Every little trifle
 “and every little spot I had become attached to; our life of quiet
 “and liberty, everything was so pleasant, and all the Highlanders
 “and people who went with us I had got to like so much. Oh! the
 “dear hills, it made me very sad to leave them behind!”

And then on reaching England her Majesty writes with that passionate feeling which mountainous countries are apt to inspire :—

“The English coast appeared terribly flat. Lord Aberdeen was
 “quite touched when I told him I was so attached to the dear, dear
 “Highlands, and missed the fine hills so much. There is a great
 “peculiarity about the Highlands and the Highlanders; and they
 “are such a chivalrous, fine, active people. Our stay among them was
 “so delightful. Independently of the beautiful scenery, there was
 “a quiet, a retirement, a wildness, a liberty, and a solitude that had
 “such a charm to us.”

On one occasion, in October 1858, the Queen wished that the Royal Family "might be snowed up and unable to move" from the Highlands, such was her reluctance to go South. Finally, the Prince Consort testifies to some more of the characteristic virtues of her Highland subjects as follows :—

"We were always in the habit of conversing with the Highlanders, "with whom one comes so much in contact in the Highlands. The Prince highly appreciated the *good-breeding, simplicity, and intelligence*, which makes it so pleasant and even instructive to talk to "them."

Such is the manner in which our gracious sovereign and her illustrious and deservedly lamented husband habitually spoke and thought of the Highlanders. Dr. Norman MacLeod, a man long honoured with the friendship of the Queen, tells us, in his *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish*, as a proof of the sterling qualities and high character of the old Highland tacksmen (or gentlemen farmers), as well as the smaller occupiers, that during the wars of the French Revolution, the Isle of Skye alone contributed to the army 21 lieutenant- and major-generals, 48 lieutenant-colonels, 600 commissioned officers, and 10,000 soldiers. How many officers and men does the Isle of Skye now send to swell the ranks of England's defenders? The contribution has practically ceased to exist, thanks to the unrestrained action of the Highland landowners. Again, in his valuable evidence before the Crofter Commission of 1883, Mr. Colin Chisholm, of Inverness, supplied a list of the names, of military officers alone, born and reared in Glencannich, one of the American Winans forests in Strathglass, comprising 3 colonels, 1 major, 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, and 6 ensigns. The Glen is now reduced to absolute desolation. Who forgets the "thin red line" in the kilt, described by Howard Russell in the *Times*, which exhibited an undaunted front to the Russian foe at Balaclava? Who *can* forget their companions in glory there,—the Scots Greys, the Enniskillens, and the 4th Royal Irish? Of the man who commanded the cavalry in the Crimea, some painful reminiscences will be found at page 95 preceding. But one of the most shameful facts connected with those wholesale clearances in Scotland and Ireland is this undeniable one, that when our soldiers (and sailors) returned home, whether from the Peninsula, India, the Crimea, or elsewhere, after fighting the battles of England, they, alas! too often found that the roof-tree which formerly sheltered their aged parents, or their own wives and little ones, had been pulled down and cast into the flames in their absence!

One cannot pen the supplementary fact, which is equally undeniable, without emotion—that the great Duke of Wellington and the Parliament of England looked on encouragingly while this atrocious exercise of the rights of property was in fell operation in both kingdoms. The Duke had his town mansion at Hyde Park Corner, and his magnificent estate at Strathfieldsaye in an English county, gratefully bestowed upon him by Parliament. But what did Parliament do—what did the Duke of Wellington, when Prime Minister, *see* done—for the soldier who had placed the laurels on his brow? Alas!—*nothing* :—

“For him no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Or busy house-wife ply her evening care ;
No children run to lisp their sire’s return,
Or climb his knees, the envied kiss to share.”

Napoleon Bonaparte was once the ogre of the English nursery ; but Napoleon Bonaparte never rewarded his soldiers or punished his subjects in this manner. The Emperor of Russia is the ogre of the present day ; but the Emperor of Russia, despot though he be, does not reward his soldiers or punish his subjects so. It is reserved for the boasted Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland thus to trample upon the rights and privileges and happiness of the subjects and soldiers of the Queen. The following passages on the military aspects of the question are from the pen of a gallant and accomplished soldier, Sir William Butler, K.C.B. :—

“That other Celtic race, that soldier breed, whose home was in
“the rugged mountains north of the Spey, was expiring beneath the
“remorseless tyranny of a monstrous law—the Highlands of Scot-
“land were being cleared of men. If any stranger, unacquainted
“with our civilisation, had witnessed the cruel scenes enacted in our
“Highland glens in the latter half of the last century, and the first
“years of the present one, he would doubtless have asked in his sim-
“plicity, ‘What have these people done against the State? What
“law have they outraged? What class have they wronged, that they
“should thus suffer a penalty so dreadful?’ And the answer could only
“have been, ‘They have done no wrong. Yearly they have sent forth
“their thousands from these glens to follow the battle-flag of Britain
“wherever it flew.’ It was a Highland *rear-lorn* hope that covered
“the broken wreck of Cumberland’s army after the disastrous day of
“Fontenoy, when more British soldiers lay dead upon the field than
“fell at Waterloo itself. It was another Highland regiment that
“scaled the rock face over the St. Lawrence, and first formed a line
“in the September dawn on the level sward of Abraham. It was a
“Highland line that broke the power of the Maharatta hordes and
“gave Wellington his maiden victory at Assaye. Thirty-four bat-

“talions marched from these glens to fight in America, Germany, and India ere the eighteenth century had run its course. And yet, while abroad over the earth, Highlanders were the first in assault and last in retreat, their lowly homes in far-away glens were being dragged down, and the wail of women and the cry of children went out upon the same breeze that bore too upon its wings the scent of heather, the freshness of gorse blossom, and the myriad sweets that made the lowly life of Scotland's peasantry blest with health and happiness. There are crimes done in the dark hours of strife, and amid the blaze of man's passions, that sometimes make the blood run cold as we read them; but they are not so terrible in their red-handed vengeance as the cold malignity of a civilised law, which permits a brave and noble race to disappear by the operation of its legalised injustice. To convert the Highland glens into vast wastes, untenanted by human beings; to drive forth to distant and inhospitable shores men whose forefathers had held their own among these hills despite Roman legion, Saxon archer, or Norman chivalry, men whose sons died freely for England's honour through those wide dominions their bravery had won for her—such was the work of laws framed in a cruel mockery of name by the Commons of England. The very war in which so many of their sons were bearing part was indirectly the cause of the expulsion of the Highlanders from their homes. Sheep and oxen became of unprecedented value through the increased demand for food-supplies, and the cottage neath whose roof-tree half a dozen soldier's sons had sprung to life had to give place to a waste wherein a Highland ox could browse in freedom.

“Those who imagine that such destruction of men could not be repeated in our own day are but little acquainted with the real working of the law of landlord and tenant. It has been repeated [in Ireland] in our own time in all save the disappearance of a soldier race; but that final disappearance was not prevented by any law framed to avert such a catastrophe, but rather because an outraged and infuriated peasantry had, in many instances, summarily avenged the wrong which the law had permitted. . . . [But] a dreadful famine came to the aid of the peasant clearers in Ireland. It became easier to throw down a cottage while its inmates were weakened by hunger; the Irish peasant could be starved into the capitulation of the hovel which, fully potato fed, he would have resisted to the death. Has the nation ever realised the full meaning of the failure to carry the Redan on the 8th of September? ‘The old soldiers behaved admirably, and stood by their officers to the last; but the young,’ writes an onlooker, ‘were deficient in discipline and in confidence in their officers.’ He might have added more; they were the sweepings of the large, crowded towns; they were in fact the British infantry only in name, and yet less than a year of war had sufficed to effect this terrible change. It is said that as the first rush was made upon the salient at the Redan three old soldiers of the 41st Regiment entered with Colonel Windham. The three

"were named Hartnady, Kennedy, and Pat Mahony; the last, a "gigantic grenadier, was shot dead as he entered, crying—"Come on, boys, come on!" There was more in the dying words of this "Celtic grenadier than the mere outburst of his heroic heart. The "garret-bred 'boys' would not go on. It is in moments such as this "that the cabin on the hillside, the shieling in the Highland glen, "become towers of strength to the nation that possesses them. It is "in moments such as this, that between the peasant-born soldier and "the man who first saw the light in a crowded 'court;' between the "coster and the cottar there comes that gulf which measures the "distance between victory and defeat—Alma and Inkerman on the "one side; the Redan on the 18th of June and 8th September on "the other."¹

CONTRASTS.

"Land of my sires! what mortal hand
Can e'er untie the filial band
That knits me to thy rugged strand!"

Is there elsewhere on the habitable globe such scenery as that which, on every side, encompasses the tourist in the Scottish Highlands? Alas! its very loveliness does but deepen the contrast, born of oppression and misgovernment, found there too; for there is not on God's earth a sadder country than Scotland, except it be Ireland. The misery so often to be met with there reminds one of the picture drawn by La Bruyère of the condition of the agricultural classes in France before the era of the great Revolution. Along the railway route between Dingwall and Stromferry majestic mountains assume the form of inverted cones, as they are reflected in the deep lakes, clear as crystal. You may trace their geological strata thus from the carriage windows, and not even Lord Wimborne's huge deer forest can shut out that exquisite feature in the scenery. But where are the people? Few are to be seen save "gentlemen's gentlemen" and gillies, who, imitating the very peculiar morals as well as the manners of some of their masters, are universally said to be no acquisition to any virtuous Highland district in which they settle. Yet not the least picturesque glimpses on this route even are those furnished by the poor crofters, where they are still permitted to exist. Their miniature farms often lend warmth and colour to the landscape, as numbers of them are observed together in a cluster. Whether on the mountain-side, or on the low-lying moorland beneath, their too scanty little crops present, in the distance, the appearance of a variegated patchwork quilt, every inch of space being filled in to demonstrate indefatigable toil and labour on the part of

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1878.

those worthy and industrious men. Again, above the lovely little bay of Uig, on the plateau of Kilmuir, which is styled the "Granary of Skye," you behold, thirty miles away, the Hebridean islands of Uist, Harris, and Benbecula, like clouds floating on the summer sea. In the distance there is visible to the naked eye one of the scenes of Charles Edward's hairbreadth escapes; while, looking to the right, with the aid of an opera-glass, is clearly distinguishable, as it glistens in the bright sunshine, the monument to Flora Macdonald—"a name that should be mentioned with honour, if courage and fidelity be virtues," Johnson observes, in his *Journey to the Hebrides*. But the country, far as the eye can reach, and beyond, is given up to sheep and bullocks. You may clearly trace the former dwellings of the evicted human population which they have supplanted, though no more than the foundations are now visible, peeping through the rich herbage. Lord Macdonald's deer forest is elsewhere in the island, and as deer, more dainty than sheep, require richer pasture, there should be some good land there also. The entire district has been made desolate as that which "marches" on both sides of the Caledonian Railway between Perth and Stirling, or the country of Athol and Breadalbane, which recalls the vast solitudes created by Lucan and Sligo in Ireland.

Those islands opposite, shrouded in beautiful clouds of varying colours, present a romantic appearance in the dazzling light, but, like the island of Skye, they also are only the homes of wretchedness and physical degradation. Beneath us, along the sea-shore, upon land of the worst possible quality, are to be found the remains of a population which have not only suffered eviction from the inland glens and valleys, but have suffered re-eviction in many cases, and in some instances have been evicted even a third time. It is literally a case of the survival of the fittest. Their crofts are commonly two acres in extent, for which they pay £5, 2s. 6d. rent,—that is, for land cultivated from a state of nature, by themselves, the cabins reared by their own unaided hands, and "the run for a cow." Within fifty miles of London you may get good land, well cultivated, for half the money. Driven on to the sea-shore from an inland district, they must either quickly strive to learn to fish and run the risk of being drowned, or perish of starvation on account of their ignorance of maritime industry. Many of them *have* been drowned, and the widows around Uig have been numerous in consequence. The grown-up son of one went mad during the process of re-eviction, and is now in a lunatic asylum. Poor fellow! had he been a student of Grotius, or a reader of the *Times*, or even

acquainted with the learned, legal *Digest* of his countryman, Macallan,¹ he would probably have put his back to the wall, and defended the mother that bore him, though the struggle cost the landlord his life. That mother bore something else, too, as a matter of daily labour. She had perhaps to go miles for a basket of peat, or mayhap a bundle of seaweed, which she carried home on her back like a beast of burden. Time was, and not so long ago, when persons of her class were provided with a little horse to do such work, and with cows and sheep besides. The mountains and lakes are romantic in their grandeur, but the cabins of the poor are often veritable caves of misery—without chimneys or windows—requiring no further description here. By the courtesy of a young Presbyterian minister, who acted as our Gaelic interpreter for the occasion, we gained admission to some of them. The poor people are justly suspicious of professional politicians, and stoutly resent any unwarrantable intrusion upon their unmerited poverty. But having given them assurance that we are neither Lowland photographers nor Unionist members of Parliament come to exploit the inhabitants for our personal or party gain, and that we do not belong to any League, Union, Covenant, or Association, in the three kingdoms, we are at once put upon a footing of friendship and even hospitality. There are few men about, many of them being absent elsewhere engaged in the desperate effort to eke out a bare subsistence. One poor man, eighty-two years of age, from whose wearied eyes the light of day has all but faded, is trying to break stones on the high road—shall we say it?—to heaven.

The waters everywhere teem with splendid fish, but the peasant dare not, as formerly, whip a stream or cast a net in a lake to capture one.² The streams and the lakes are reserved for Cockney sportsmen, willing to pay handsomely for the privilege of fishing in them. Indeed, in some instances, the peasant can fish in the sea only on certain well-defined conditions, one being that he gives a portion of his harvest to the landlord, or sells him the whole at the landlord's own price. The same with his cattle, as you shall see. As for the deer, the *tines* on the stag's head are the only things in animated nature deserving the attention of the Highland proprietor, who would not be sorry if the Black Death visited this part of the kingdom of Scotland so long as it spared *them*. Sir Walter Scott

¹ See pages 80 and 87.

² See companion Irish picture, page 134.

remembered once hearing a chief of the old school say, in sorrow and indignation :—

“When I was a young man, the point upon which every Highland gentleman rested his importance, was the number of MEN whom his estate could support ; the question next rested on the amount of his stock of BLACK CATTLE ; it is now come to respect the number of *Sheep* ; and I suppose our posterity will inquire how many *rats* or *mice* an estate will produce.”¹

Well, it has not come to the smaller vermin yet, the deer being in possession. But this by the way. Here are children with beautiful features, so modest and shy that they only speak in monosyllables and whispers. Their little frocks do not always reach to their knees, and those poor bare legs and naked feet are pink as shrimps under the combined influence of storm and sunshine. The crofters’ Act of Parliament contemplated their fathers obtaining more if not sufficiently good land to live upon. But the landlords deride the Act of Parliament, and so those unhappy children must continue to suffer perennial nakedness and hunger, that the Argylls and Athols, the Sutherlands and Westminsters, and the big brewers of London and Burton-on-Trent, may not be disturbed in their aristocratic sport. There is for those children of misfortune but another eviction scene—for the series is not yet complete—after which their fathers will be driven by stress of circumstances to take refuge in the Highland capital of Inverness, where, as we were lately informed by Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. for the county, more than half the people on the poor rates—at one period it might be two-thirds—are the victims of the same terrible system of oppression, which dooms those innocent children, and hundreds of thousands like them in Scotland and Ireland besides, to something worse than a living death. The inhabitants tell you that they remember having seen their streets crowded with a shivering, homeless population evicted from Barra and Uist, in years gone by, and to-day (28th of October 1889) there appears in the *Times* a letter from Mr. Mackintosh giving a fresh picture of intolerable oppression in North Uist, on the property of Sir John Orde, Bart., in defiance of law, order, and parliament.

This island of Skye has been the scene of incredible suffering for generations, in which Lord Macdonald (as has been already shown) Major Fraser of Kilmuir, Captain Macdonald of Waternish, Doctors Martin and Maclean, &c., have acted a part. What that part has been the evidence of their victims before the Crofters’ Royal Com-

¹ *Tales of a Grandfather.*

mission, of which Lord Napier and Ettrick was the excellent chairman, and Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., a most painstaking member, proves beyond question. Of Captain Macdonald's property, one Neil MacDiarmid said, "I cannot give an estimate of the land "once arable, and occupied as townships, now in the proprietor's "possession. If you are on board the steamer you will see that it "extends from sea to sea." On one estate a new tenant was compelled to pay the arrears of the old one. In this way Alexander Maclean having paid £20 at Milovaig, he was evicted himself after only two years' possession. Murdo MacLean, of Husabost, testified that he had to render "duty" work to his landlord, even during his absence in the fishing season, for which he received as wages only abusive language he would be "ashamed to repeat." He said :—

"Although only my wife were at home, and my corn going to the "winds, she must needs do the landlord's work when required. I "remember coming home from the fishing after I had been four "months away. I found my wife reaping the landlord's corn, and "she asked, as a favour from the factor and manager, to be allowed "to go home to prepare food for me, and she would not get leave. "(Sensation)."

Dr. Martin compelled his tenants to sell their fish to him exclusively, at his own price, ling and cod 6d. and 4d. each respectively, and it came out in evidence also that he had issued a notice, which was posted on the door of the local post-office at Glendale, warning competitors in his market that—"All beasts "bought from the crofters will be seized, wherever found, unless the "purchase price be paid to me." Donald Campbell, crofter, of Struan Mor, described a custom on another estate, which reads like the echo of something that has been reported time out of mind as a common occurrence in Ireland :—

"If a man married, his father dare not give him shelter for a "night, and the young man and his wife must needs leave and go "into the cities. When the parents became old they became poorer, "until they came on the poors' roll, as their children were not "allowed to remain with them." And he mentioned a characteristic feature in Highland landlordism besides, as follows :—"There were "four or five families in Ose who were removed to another part of "the same place, and were made to build their houses on a peaty soil "beside the river; and when the river was in flood some of them "had to flee for their lives."

When Dr. Maclean, a beneficent Skye sheep farmer, found a

stray sheep on his grazings, it was given in evidence that he exacted half-a-crown fine, or failing payment of this blackmail, he performed a surgical operation by cropping the ears of the poor beast to the skull. Malcolm MacCaskill, of Duirinish, stated that his father had been evicted no less than *four times*, no doubt to demonstrate the exemplary patience of the modern Highlander, and his resignation to the landlord's pretended "decrees of providence." One John MacFie, aged 74, after stating that he had been in his present croft for forty-six years, said :—

"In 1840 there were seventeen families removed from Feorlick by Mr. Gibbon, the tacksman, who took the land and the people on it. They were placed, some by the sea, some on peat land which had never been cultivated. Some of them did not get a place on earth on which to put a foot. I myself saw them living under a sail spread on three poles below high-water mark. One of the crofters, Donald Campbell, was warned by the ground-officer for giving refuge to a poor man who had no house. The ground-officer came and pulled down the house, and took a pail of water and threw it on the fire. By the noise made in the extinguishing of the fire and the denseness of the steam, the wife went out of her mind. *He never saw one so mad.* Mr. Scobie came afterwards, and Macleod of Dunvegan gave us all over to him. He said that it was God who sent him there. Rather than settle on the mossy ground which they were shown, two of them preferred to go to Australia. They died on the passage, and were thrown overboard. When Campbell was put out of his house, not a tenant was allowed to give him shelter. He had nine of a family, and they had to remain on the hillside on a wet night. Scobie [the heavenly messenger] took our hill pasture, which we had for fifty or sixty years, and settled crofters upon it. *We are still paying for that hill pasture.* We have no road, and if any of our people die in the winter he has to be buried in the sea or in the peat moss. Scobie closed up the road to the churchyard with a gate, and before we could pass that way we would have to break down the gate."

Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, in his excellent digest of the evidence before the Royal Commission,¹ has provided Scobie with a monument to his fame, free of expense. But there are other Scobies there, though our work being essentially an Irish one, we cannot extend this Appendix very much farther in pursuit of them. One district in Skye was depopulated to make room for a parish minister, who shall be nameless, not because he is living, but because he is

¹ *Isle of Skye in 1882* (A. & W. Mackenzie, Inverness).

dead. The incident is, sad to say, by no means an uncommon feature in the Highland clearance system. It is painfully suggestive that the Presbyterian ministers, with some honourable exceptions, have never been forward to denounce the cruelties and barbarities of which their people have been the victims. Before 1843, when the blessed "Disruption" took place, they were all stipendiaries, and under no special obligation, except where conscience crept in, to discharge their duty to the people otherwise than in a perfunctory manner. The landlords were suspected of cunningly silencing the shepherds with civilities and attentions, while the sheep were fleeced to the skin. How otherwise are we to account for their silence, which is as marked as that of the English stipendiary bishops so bravely rebuked by the late Prince Consort,¹ because of their being churchmen rather than Christians?

Some Scotch Members of Parliament are scarcely more sympathetic, especially if they are successful lawyers. Bulwer somewhere says that, as a class, they become void of the instincts of humanity through inordinate ambition. There is Mr. Finlay, Q.C., and M.P. for Inverness, who, having turned his coat to oblige Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, his leader and preceptor, feels himself sufficiently rewarded by a promise of the Woolsack when that great statesman becomes Prime Minister, after the next general election. But the eviction question and the coercion question are both sadly in Mr. Finlay's road to the Woolsack, and he is compelled by the exigencies of his awkward position to be almost as unscrupulous as Lord Salisbury himself,² in his endeavours to ensnare ignorant people by fallacious argument. Referring to the eviction question, Mr. Finlay told a select body of his constituents at Inverness lately that "people are evicted every day in Edinburgh and Glasgow without any such fuss being made about them." This is Finlayism *ad nauseam*. The statement is perfectly true, but the inference is as perfectly—false. There is not even the very smallest conceivable analogy between a city and an agricultural eviction, Mr. Finlay knows right well; for whatever else he is, the successful lawyer is no fool. By an eviction in Edinburgh or Glasgow, a man may suffer inconvenience, or even hardship, but the property from which he is evicted is one in which he has no partnership. It belongs to the landlord exclusively, and the evicted tenant leaves nothing there behind him—at least he is not bound to do so—which is calculated to enhance the value of the premises. Besides, he does

¹ See page 28.

² See page 75.

not suffer loss of employment or occupation by the proceedings, and nobody thinks worse of the landlord for this ordinary exercise of his legal right; which does not even preclude the tenant from obtaining a house or adequate shelter elsewhere. On the other hand, the position of the evicted agricultural tenant, whether in Scotland or Ireland, is in every respect the very reverse of this. The labour of years—often of a lifetime—has been expended on his little croft or holding, while the house or cabin standing upon it has been built with his own hands. That croft or holding was not worth a shilling an acre, perhaps, when he or his father entered upon it, though the landlord now exacts—extorts rather—30s. or £2 an acre for it. To evict him from this, whether for non-payment of rent, or, as is more commonly the case, on account of the prospect of securing a more profitable tenant, is sheer confiscation, unless, as is rarely if ever the case, the evicted is provided with adequate compensation for his property in the land as well as the house. Worse still, by eviction he loses the only employment or occupation for which he is by training and habit—one might almost say by nature—fitted. He is in fact a ruined man, with no prospect before him and his wife and little ones but the workhouse; since his is not the case of a capitalist capable of providing himself with a fresh croft or holding and a house elsewhere. The tenure in regard to small holdings is practically the same in Scotland and Ireland, and what its nature really is will be found fully explained on the highest authority elsewhere.¹ Mr. Finlay's attempt to deprive the poor man in either country of public sympathy, for the purpose of personal or party gain, would justify the hope that he may himself suffer eviction from the representation of Inverness at the earliest opportunity.

NEMESIS !

“There is a day of vengeance still,
Linger it may, but come it will.”

How truly did Bernard Gilpin, the eminent Protestant divine of the sixteenth century, declare that the depopulators of his own day were “worse than Ahab.”² Are they a degree better to-day in Scotland or Ireland? Ahab at least offered an adequate compensation for Naboth's vineyard, and if Jezebel had not interfered a friendly compromise might have been effected. Again, even Jezebel only sent out

¹ At page 70.

² See page 18.

two sons of Belial to denounce Naboth. But how many sons of Belial now daily promenade the three kingdoms denouncing Mr. Gladstone, as the friend of Naboth; declaring that he should be sent to the Shades, tongue-tied, as a disturber of the public peace? Not two but two hundred. The Highlanders, like the Irish, though differing in creed, are old fashioned enough to believe in "signs and wonders," and think, perhaps not foolishly, that they are being worked in their behalf at the present time. In his *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Stewart, of Garth, writing more than sixty years ago, says:—

"Among the Highlanders, the belief that the punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding."

Some of the families of the oppressors of the Highland peasants, at all events, have already become extinct, while many more are being slowly but not less surely ruined. The competition set up in America against them by the very emigrants whom they banished the land is already gradually helping to reduce the whole tribe of landlords to comparative poverty. In some instances more summary vengeance is believed to have overtaken them in another and more marked form. One specially obnoxious individual was unfortunate enough to break his neck in the hunting field at an early period of his career; while of his three sons two have already, it is said, met with violent deaths elsewhere. Upon this very spot in the Isle of Skye, about which you have just been reading, there has been waged a war of devilish cruelty upon an innocent and inoffensive population. In return, the floodgates of heaven itself are believed to have been opened upon a system which had thus brought sorrow and suffering to many a virtuous peasant home. A single specimen of the manner of exercising "the rights of property" here, as given in evidence before the Crofter Commissioners a few years back, casts a lurid light over the scene. Donald Nicolson, formerly of Totescore, but now of Solitote, Kilmuir, stated that he was past 78 years of age; that he was formerly a crofter, but that Major Fraser all at once doubled his rent, which increase he most reluctantly agreed to pay. He was then asked to pay £1 more, and refusing to do so, he was forcibly evicted, and his lot given to Mr. Macleod of Monkstadt, local "factotum" for Major Fraser, who sent round word that

any one who gave Nicolson a night's shelter would be dealt with similarly. Having related how he was evicted from his house and land, Nicolson continued :—

“ My son's wife and her two young children were with me, and we were all that night in a cart shed, and our neighbours were afraid to let us in, and were crying over us. There was plenty of meal outside, but we had no fire to make a cake. We lived in the stable all the summer. I could only erect one bed in it, and my daughter and my son's wife and two children slept in the bed, and myself slept on the stones. . . . Afterwards, I got refuge in the house of a poor woman at Duntulm, and the factor, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Portree, challenged the tacksman of Duntulm for allowing this poor woman to keep me in her house.”

The witness then appealed to Mr. Dugald Maclachlan, banker, Portree, for confirmation of his story ; and at the request of Lord Napier, the chairman, Mr. Maclachlan gave the following explanation :—

“ After Nicolson was put out of his house he entered a cart-shed, and thereafter he entered the stable ; then he was evicted a second time, and an interdict taken out against him, forbidding him for ever to enter his dwelling-house, or enter upon the lands. Under stress of circumstances, he entered the barn with his family. He was had up for breach of interdict, and for this was fined 10s., with the alternative of five days' imprisonment. The expenses of the interdict were £8. Then there was a year's rent due, and in addition to that he was charged with ‘ violent profits,’ which means the doubling of the rent for remaining in possession after the term. The whole came to £35 odd, which the man paid.” Lord Napier —“ Do you mean to say that that money was really exacted, and passed into the factor's hands ?” Mr. Maclachlan—“ Yes. I arranged with the factor, Mr. Macdonald, for him, and advanced the money out of the bank. When the markets came round he realised his stock, and paid me every penny of it.”

In conclusion, Nicolson said that his family was all scattered now, but if he got a piece of land, although he was 78 years of age, he would gather them about him again. “ Brave old crofter !” exclaimed Lord Napier.

On a Sunday evening in the month of October 1877 (as recorded in the newspapers of the time), two mountain streams suddenly united near the village of Uig, and swelling into a mighty torrent, destroyed by their force a solid stone bridge spanning the public road, and carried away with it into the sea almost every vestige of the landlord's mansion standing above ground at the

same time. The morning sun revealed an appalling and unprecedented spectacle. Huge boulders had been dislodged from the mountain-side by the torrent in its course. Crashing into a little cemetery situated near the bed of the stream, with Titanic violence they uprooted or partially destroyed every grave there *save one*, and scattered the dead bodies of the tenantry, coffined and uncoffined, over the avenue and grounds of the vanished mansion—in some instances depositing the ghastly remains within what was left of the foundations of the landlord's dining-room floor. Innumerable bodies—"thousands" it is said—were washed outside by the surging waters, never again to appear till the sea gives up its dead. But the people say that some at least of those recovered, numbering between ninety and a hundred, including many children, were clearly recognised and identified by their surviving relatives and friends as the bodies of persons who had sustained incredible suffering at the hands of the evictor. They tell you further, in accents broken by emotion, how, though the dead rose up as it were against the living, not a soul save the landlord's overseer, who was, unhappily, drowned, suffered injury either to life or limb or property in the great flood. The Highlanders, appalled by the enormous quantity of "dry bones" strewn along the avenue, leading to the mansion, remembered a certain chapter in Ezekiel, and believed that the Lord had indeed visited His people, to execute vengeance upon their oppressor. No amount of scepticism on your part will convince them that the awful spectacle was not due to the direct intervention of Heaven. You may urge that this could hardly be so, seeing that neither the landlord himself nor his factor was inside the mansion at the time. They only shake their heads impressively, and reply, "Ah! but he (the landlord) has "never returned to Uig; he is a broken, dispirited man; while the "factor even is a factor no longer!"

" When wilt Thou save the people, Lord—
 O God of Mercy ! when—
 Not kings on thrones, but nations,
 Not chiefs and lords, but men."

In concluding their Report a few years back, the Crofter Royal Commissioners took occasion to observe that :—

"The land movement in the Highlands is impelled by the democratic and social aspirations prevalent among various classes at

"home, and will probably enlist the sympathies of Highlanders in all parts of the world. There is a larger, richer, more active, and more enthusiastic Celtic community beyond the limits of the Celtic region of Scotland than there is within it, and it is one of the results of increasing knowledge and expanding faculties of intercourse, that men who have forsaken (*sic*) the seats of their birth and early associations, continue, communicate, and transmit the affections and passions of the race with even greater warmth than those who remain behind."

To the various classes referred to by the Crofter Commissioners, including English working men, these pages are humbly commended, as being the only permanent record now extant, in a concise form, of a great national iniquity. But it must always be recollected, however angry the story may tend to make us, that two wrongs do not constitute a right. Mr. Henry George's proposal to drive the landlords off the land without adequate compensation is in no degree more practical than Carlyle's suggestion, that those of them who cannot live here at home without deer-stalking, should betake themselves to Africa, and stalk *lions* there. The landlords might, it is true, have applied to them the language of a royal proclamation of the reign of Edward VI., having brought the Scottish Highlands :—

"Into marvellous desolation, houses decayed, parishes diminished, the force of the realm weakened, and Christian people, by the greedy covetousness of some men, eaten and devoured by brute beasts, and driven from their houses by sheep and bullocks."

Yet, if their victims were alive to-day to judge them, even they would hardly condemn, say the Duke of Argyle and the Irish Chief Secretary, Mr. Arthur Balfour, though they are the most impenitent amongst those persons in wrongful possession of the property of the evicted people, to be in turn "eaten and devoured" by African lions, or other "brute beasts." No, there is here a great problem urgently awaiting, if not demanding, solution, and there is probably but a single living statesman capable of solving it *peaceably*. It is not possible—it cannot be—that one man, for instance, should any longer be permitted to claim as his property, in addition to vast English estates, one-seventeenth part of the entire kingdom of Scotland ; or that big sheep farmers should have possession of territories variously estimated to extend fifteen, twenty-five, and even forty miles in one direction, from which every human being not dressed in a shepherd's plaid, has been ruthlessly banished. Mr. Gladstone has found a different remedy in regard to the land

question in Ireland, which he is prepared to apply when the electors of the United Kingdom have had an opportunity given them of restoring him to power. And seeing that the Duke of Sutherland and a few men like him have, between them, by some mediæval or legal fiction got possession of millions of acres of Scottish land, while the population generally are confined to such infinitesimal portions of the earth's surface as will not yield them tolerable sustenance, Mr. Gladstone does not appear to be insuperably opposed to the application of a drastic remedy for Scotland either. Speaking at West Calder, during the Midlothian campaign of 1879, the right honourable gentleman is reported to have said, according to his published speeches :—

“Those persons who possess large portions of the spaces of the earth are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personalty ; that personalty does not impose the same limitations upon the action and industry of man and upon the wellbeing of the community, as does the possession of land ; and, therefore, I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which, for an adequate public object, is in itself admissible, and, so far, sound in principle.”

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